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VOL. II.

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THE

TRIBUNE,

A PERIODICAL PUBLICATION,

CONSISTING CHIEFLY OF THE

POLITICAL LECTURES

OF

J. THELWALL.



TAKEN IN SHORT-HAND BY W. RAMSEY, AND REVISED BY THE LECTURER.

VOL. II.

"If my Lectures had been of that ſeditious and treaſonable complexion "which they have deſcribed, it muſt have been eaſy to have checked me in my "career, and brought me to puniſhment, without putting a gag upon the "nation at large, and annihilating the boaſted liberties of the country."

PREF.

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PREFACE.

As little alteration has taken place in the conduct of this Volume, except what was announced in the Advertiſement in the Firſt Number, it would have been perfectly ſuperfluous to trouble the reader with further Preface or Introduction, if the ſingular circumſtances under which I am placed, and the malignant calumny to which I have been expoſed did not call upon me for ſome animadverſion. To the ſlandrous aſperſions, however, of certain political leaders I ſhall not deign any particular anſwer. Men, whoſe traffic is corruption, and whoſe ſtock in trade forgery and miſrepreſentation, however high in rank, or dignified by office, are beneath the ſerious attention of an individual whoſe rank is his integrity, and whoſe office the propagation of principles conducive to the general happineſs of mankind. To enter the liſts on the ſcore of character with ſuch men, were degradation; and to ſuppoſe that their aſſertions have ſo much credit with mankind as to require elaborate refutation would be an inſult to the underſtanding of the country.

It is ſufficient therefore to obſerve, that their own conduct gives them THE LIE DIRECT: for if my Lectures, delivered upon the average of laſt

ſeaſon to an audience of 430, and upon the average of this ſeaſon of 520 perſons, one night with another, had been of that ſeditious and treaſonable complexion which they have deſcribed, it muſt have been eaſy to have checked me in my career, and brought me to puniſhment, without putting a gag upon the nation at large, and annihilating the boaſted liberties of the country. But they knew that my Lectures were not treaſonable; they knew that they were not ſeditious; and they knew that they were therefore the more formidable. They would have been glad to have made them appear ſuch, no doubt; and they have an ingenious train of ſpies and informers, with memories as convenient as thoſe of their employers: but theſe were of no uſe—for I had a ſhort-hand writer, and my *real* language and ſentiments were therefore capable of proof. Therefore it was that the *exiſting laws were inadequate to* THEIR *purpoſes*; therefore it was that even Lord Grenville's new-fangled treaſon and ſedition bill would not ſuffice. They know that when perſeverance and honeſty are oppoſed to powerful corruption, and when men of any intelligence are embarked in the public cauſe, ſo long as they are permitted to ſpeak at all, they will find ſome means, even under the moſt ſevere, ambiguous, and iniquitous laws to publiſh ſuch truths, and propagate ſuch ſentiments, as will ultimately be fatal to their oppreſſors, without expoſing themſelves to the condemnation of an honeſt jury.

Therefore it is, that after proclaiming that this ſhall be treaſon, and that ſhall be tranſportation, another law is framed to make it felony and death to ſpeak, or even to meet, at all, but under ſuch reſtrictions as are totally inimical to the independent ſpirit of Britons, and ſubverſive of the proviſions of the Bill of Rights.

If

If there are any perſons ſo obſtinate in their prejudices as to ſuppoſe that theſe arguments are not concluſive as to the baſe manner in which, for ſiniſter purpoſes, my doctrines have been miſrepreſented, let them appeal to the evidence of theſe Volumes, which, unlike the Reports of Secret Committees, ſhall contain no garbled accounts, no falſe colourings, no ſophiſtical gloſſaries or miſrepreſentations, but ſhall continue to be publiſhed, in regular weekly numbers, till the whole of my Lectures are before the public, with ſuch reviſions only of ſtile and compoſition as the ſhort-hand tranſcripts of extempore effuſions muſt of neceſſity require.

But I have been aſſailed from another point. In the midſt of that ſtorm which the malice and the terrors of miniſterial corruption had raiſed around me, calumny and foul miſrepreſentation have been poured upon my head from a quarter, where, at ſuch a time, and under ſuch circumſtances, it was leaſt to have been expected. Not that I mean to inſinuate, that the author of the pamphlet alluded to [*Conſiderations on Lord Grenville's and Mr. Pitt's Bills; by a Lover of Order*] was ever an approver of the Lectures. The viſionary peculiarities of mind, which, in the midſt of all its daring excellencies, mark the "Enquiry concerning Political Juſtice," cannot have eſcaped the obſervation of the attentive reader; and in the midſt of the ſingularities with which that valuable work abounds, nothing is perhaps more remarkable than that it ſhould at once recommend the moſt extenſive plan of freedom and innovation ever diſcuſſed by any writer in the Engliſh language, and reprobate every meaſure from which even the moſt moderate reform can rationally be expected.

I knew from this ſingular work—I knew, alſo, from the frequent friendly converſations I have

enjoyed with the author, that he was hoſtile to every ſpecies of popular aſſociation; and it is but juſtice to obſerve, that he has frequently endeavoured to diſſuade me from continuing my Lectures, by arguments, ſtrong and convincing I ſuppoſe to him, though to me they appeared viſionary and futile.

But I little expected the malignancy of a public attack, at a time when, even if ſuch an attack had been merited, no poſſible advantage could accrue to the public; when the doors of my Lecture Room were on the very eve of being cloſed by the ſtrong arm of *authority*; and when of courſe, the only effect ſuch conduct could produce, was to inflame the prejudices already ſo artfully excited againſt an individual, whoſe only crime was having vindicated, in an age of perſecution and arbitrary uſurpation, that Liberty of Speech which for more than a century has been conſidered as the diſtinguiſhing birthright and peculiar privilege of Britons.

But if an attack, at ſuch a ſeaſon, from ſuch a quarter, was matter of ſurpriſe, how was my aſtoniſhment increaſed at the extravagance and fury of that attack? What was my aſtoniſhment when I ſaw the man, whoſe private profeſſions of eſteem for the powers of my mind, and the purity of my motives, had ſo frequently increaſed my confidence, and roused the honeſt ambition of my ſoul, ſtand forward to accuſe me at the bar of the public as "an impatient and headlong reformer," who made it his occupation to ſtir up "all the malignant emotions of the human mind," and bring the paſſions of the audience "into training" for revengeful deſtruction, and lamp-poſt maſſacres? What was my aſtoniſhment when I heard this friend, this philoſopher, this tranſcendent pattern of candour and moderation, whoſe liberality can find an excuſe for the moſt ſanguinary clauſes in Lord *Grenville's* bill,

bill, treat thoſe doctrines of general humanity and benevolence, ſo inceſſantly enforced in theſe Lectures as "*ſaving clauſes*,"—compare me to "Lord "George Gordon preaching peace to the rioters "in Weſtminſter Hall;" and finally, by way of climax, aſſimilate me to the villainous hypocrite Iago, who after practiſing every artifice to awaken and to inflame the groundleſs ſuſpicions of Othello, ſhelters himſelf from the ſuſpicions of the abuſed and deluded Moor by adviſing him "not to diſho-"nour himſelf by giving harbour to a thought of "jealouſy."

Theſe paſſages, malignant enough in themſelves, become more inſufferable from the recollection that the writer of them, not very long ago, reprobated another perſon in ſtrong terms, for ſeeming, in a diſtant way,, and in a private circle, to hint ſomething like the charge of duplicity which they ſo ſtrongly and ſo *publicly* contain. What ſignify, after this, the "*ſaving clauſes*," (to hurl back the contemptible charge in the teeth of its inventor) of talents "arreſted in their growth," and *original* "purity of intentions."

That my talents, be they great or ſmall, have not been *arreſted*, the growing reputation of my Lectures, and the *claſs* of auditors by which they have *lately* been attended, is ſufficient evidence; and a compariſon of my preſent with my former publications will put the matter beyond diſpute. And as for my intentions, if my principles are not at this time ſound and good, it is of no conſequence how *pure* they were when I "commenced my career;" ſince, on this ſide of the queſtion at leaſt, the world will regard, as it ought, not what a man was but what he is.

I have the conſolation, however, to find that the prejudices excited againſt me, except in a very narrow and intereſted circle, have declined, in pro-

portion

portion as the notoriety of my conduct and my principles have increaſed. In ſhort, if miniſters had not found, that the longer my Lectures continued—that is to ſay, the more opportunities people of all deſcriptions had to hear and judge for themſelves, the more general the conviction became of the propriety of my ſentiments and the juſtice of my cauſe, they would never have thought it neceſſary to adopt ſuch ſtrong meaſures for the purpoſe of ſhutting my mouth. But it was neceſſary for the argument of the "Lover of Order," to repreſent the ſyſtem of political lecturing as inimical alike to genius and principle. I am not therefore, ſurpriſed that he ſhould perſuade himſelf that my "talents had been arreſted in their growth," and that the "uncommon purity of my intentions," had degenerated into the deſigning villainy of Iago. But as for the latter I know my own heart. I know alſo that the world will one day do it juſtice. And as for the former, though I am aware how common it is for authors to "lay the flattering unction to their ſouls," yet Mr. *Godwin* muſt excuſe me if I bow not with implicit reverence to an opinion of which the ſucceſs of my undertaking is ſo far from furniſhing the evidence.

But let us examine a little the objections of this ſingular writer, to the ſyſtem of political lecturing in general; ſince, as in all probability, the time is not very diſtant when my lectures will be reſumed, this is the moſt important part of my ſubject: and if it ſhould be found, as I believe it will, that theſe objections are chiefly without foundation, that if admitted they would go to reſtrict the wide diffuſion of all ſcience, and that the few that have any ſort of validity, are more than counterbalanced by the important advantages which can no otherwiſe be ſo certainly obtained, *the Public*

will

will have more reaſon than I can have, to deprecate the *attempts* that have been made to rob them of this ſpecies of entertainment and inſtruction.

" Whether or no Political Lectures, upon the " fundamental principles of politics, to be delivered " *to a mixed and crowded audience*," ſays the *Lover of Order*, " be entitled to the approbation of an " enlightened Stateſman, it is ſomewhat difficult to " pronounce."---Difficult to pronounce whether a mixed and crowded audience ought to be inſtructed upon the fundamental principles of a ſcience upon which the happineſs of that general maſs, from which a mixed and crowded audience muſt be compoſed, more than all other ſciences depends!---Genius of common ſenſe and honeſty! if the great maſs of mankind—the mixed multitude, of which ſociety at large, as well as the generality of crowded audiences, is compoſed, are not to be regarded as the mere dupes and inſtruments of a few political profeſſors, what can be ſo important as to generaliſe, by the moſt expeditious means, thoſe maxims and principles by which the ſcience of politics can be rendered moſt ſubſervient to its great end—the intereſt and happineſs of the whole? But " It is not," continues the author, " for the moſt part, in " crowded audiences, that truth is ſucceſsfully in- " veſtigated, and the principles of ſcience luminouſly " conceived." Perhaps this is true: particularly with reſpect to the latter part. But is it in crowded audiences—is it in his Tribune that the Lecturer conceives his principles, or inveſtigates his ſubject? It is there indeed that he propounds the one and illuſtrates the other: but if he has any regard either to his duty or to his fame, nay, if he expects, for any continuance, even that poor popularity which conſiſts in the applauſes of a promiſcuous audience, however illiterate and ill-judging, *the mere delivery*

of

of his Lectures will conſtitute the ſmalleſt partof his labours: his principles will be conceived, his ſubject digeſted, and his materials arranged in the ſilence and ſolitude of the cloſet; and every hour of his life, every ſcene he beholds, and every circumſtance that occurs will furniſh matter, which his obſervation will be perpetually ſeizing, and his reflection applying to the important object of his inveſtigation.

There are ſome advantages which debate undoubtedly poſſeſs over the ſyſtem of lecturing: It is more probable that both ſides of the queſtion ſhould be fairly ſtated in open debate than in individual animadverſion: miſrepreſentation is more eaſily detected, and falſehood more readily expoſed*. But the advantages of lecturing are much more numerous and important. The ſentiments delivered by the profeſſor are never of neceſſity the tranſient dictates of the moment, conceived in the warmth of paſſion and debate, and provoked by the deſire of conqueſt. His temptations to pervert facts for the ſake of argument are much leſs powerful than thoſe of the debater; he is not ſo frequently obliged to bring forward his conceptions in ſo crude a ſtate; and that he has the means of more lucid arrangement, and of compreſſing a greater body of information into his diſcourſe, and thus combining together the advantages of elaborate reſearch and popular enthuſiaſm, muſt be evident to the candid enquirer.

If I am aſked what aſſurance we have that he will uſe theſe advantages? I anſwer that he muſt either make uſe of them to a conſiderable degree,

* When the Lectures are afterwards publiſhed, as in the inſtance under conſideration, even this objection is obviated; and the Lecturer lies completely open to refutation.

or elſe his popularity will be ſo ſhort-lived, that his errors can be of ſmall importance to ſociety. His reputation is not to be ſupported with the ſame facility as that of the popular debater. He has no caſual variety to depend upon; no alluring expectations of new faces and new names to hold out to the public; no contradiction to rouſe him, no rival to ſtimulate, and *no foil to ſet him off!* Every thing depends upon his own diligence and exertions; his ſituation is ſo conſpicuous as to ſubmit him to an ordeal of uncommon ſeverity; and if he does not give to his diſcourſe a variety and ſolidity which nothing but great induſtry, an independent originality of mind, and a maſs of well-digeſted principles can furniſh, no charm of voice, no elegance of perſon, no grace of action or, flow of modulated periods (if he were fortunate enough to poſſeſs all theſe advantages) can ſupport his popularity through a dozen lectures.

But, perhaps, I may be told that the objections of my antagoniſt relate not to the lecturer, but to the audience. But even in this point of view, the argument is as futile as in the other; and if indeed it were of any validity, it would apply as forciby againſt every other ſpecies of lecturing as againſt political lectures: for two hundred raw pupils from the country, and I have ſeen more in the lecture-room of Mr. Cline, are as effectually a crowd, aye and a *mixed* crowd, as five or ſix hundred. Every *ſucceſsful* profeſſor, of whatever art or ſcience, delivers his lectures, even on ſubjects the moſt abſtruſe, to a mixed and crowded audience; and the teacher of anatomy, of chemiſtry, or of politics, however confident of his own powers would equally betray his ignorance, if he expected that the crowd of ſtudents who attend his diſcourſes, will either ſucceſsfully inveſtigate or luminouſly conceive the

principles of his ſcience in the theatre where they are aſſembled. It is quite enough if the attention is ſo far rouſed and the memory ſo far impreſſed as to furniſh the materials of that reflection from which, and which alone any real ſolidity of judgment can reſult.

The lecturer, generally ſpeaking, can expect no other immediate effect than to fix conviction where it was dubiouſly entertained, to *ſhake* the prejudices hoſtile to his ſyſtem, and ſo far to intereſt the imagination as to compel a large part, at leaſt, of his auditory to revolve his arguments in their minds till their truth or falſehood ſhall be rendered evident. He muſt conſider himſelf, in ſhort, not ſo much as the reaper who goes into the field to collect the harveſt of opinion, as the ſower, whoſe buſineſs it is to ſcatter the ſeed; and though *part* of this ſeed muſt be expected, from the perverſeneſs of the ſoil, to fail of taking ſufficient root, yet, if he performs his taſk with judgment, the harveſt, though diſtant, perhaps, is certain. Nor are theſe objections applicable only to "Theatres and halls of aſſembly;" they muſt be extended alſo to the converſations that paſs "in the domeſtic tranquillity of the "fire ſide:" for it is not in converſations or debates, whether of the ſelect few or the mixed multitude, that ſolid opinions are formed: theſe muſt undoubtedly be digeſted in the ſolitude of the cloſet. But, in defiance of all the folios and quartos that were ever written, the cloſet would be as fruitleſs as the tomb, if it were not for the materials that debate and converſation furniſh. It is by converſation that the mind is quickened and the obſtinacy of dogmatic confidence ſoftened: it is in "mixed and crowded audiences"—"in theatres and halls of "aſſembly," that the real lover of his ſpecies muſt principally expect to inſpire that generous ſympathy

thy—that *ſocial ardor*, without which a nation is but a populous wilderneſs, and the *philoſopher* himſelf only a walking index of obſolete laws and dead-lettered inſtitutes. I wiſh not to bear too hard upon my opponent: the literary and political world has obligations to him which I hope will not be ſoon forgotten: but let any man compare together the terms of friendſhip and reciprocal eſteem upon which, for the laſt two or three years, we have lived, and the *time*, circumſtances, and complexion of this attack, and then judge whether I am guilty of illiberality when I appeal to this very pamphlet as a proof how great and how dangerous a tendency the life of domeſtic ſolitude led by this ſingular man, and his ſcrupulous avoidance of all popular intercourſe has to deaden the beſt ſympathies of nature, and encourage a ſelfiſh and perſonal vanity, which the recluſe philoſopher firſt miſtakes for principle, and then ſacrifices it to every feeling of private, and ſometimes of public juſtice? for what milder conſtruction can poſſibly be put upon the firſt twenty-two pages of his pamphlet, and upon thoſe paſſages in particular which relate to my Lecture, than that the author, in his extreme anxiety for the reputation of candour*, overlooked every conſideration of juſtice to a friend aſſailed by all the perſecuting bitterneſs of powerful malice? Suppoſing the Lectures had been as pernicious as the "Lover "of Order" repreſents them, what good end could he at ſuch a time propoſe by his invectives? They

* The reader will judge how juſtly the claim of candour is ſupported by hunting for diſhonourable motives, for doctrines "perſuading men to unbounded and univerſal bene-"volence," (p. 21.) when promulgated by one party, and finding excuſes (p. 45.) for the moſt tyrannical clauſes in meaſures brought forward by another.

were about to be closed as it appeared for ever. The minister had clapped the pondrous key of his authority in the door: and the whole strength of his irresistible majority was exerted to turn the massive wards, whose bolts, it was supposed, were to lock me up in silence and obscurity for ever! Was this a time for a philosopher and a friend to choose for his attack? Was this a time for *candour* to swell the torrent of prejudice which interested calumny had poured upon my head? and by such passages, such unfounded misrepresentations, as this pamphlet contains, to prejudice the moderate and inflame the irritated against a man whom the minister had so evidently devoted to destruction?

It is not, however true, that there was any foundation for considering my Lectures in that point of view in which this "Lover of Order" has placed them: and the perusal of these volumes will prove my assertion. They are not farragoes of personal invective; they are neither "adapted to ripen men for "purposes similar to those of the Jacobin Society of "Paris," nor to bring the passions of the audience into training for lamp-post massacres. In short, they were not the lectures of "an *impatient and* "*headlong* reformer;" and, in proof of this, I need only appeal to the fact, that my warmest and most numerous friends will be found among those firm but moderate advocates of liberty who join enthusiasm of principle with the sacred love of peace and order; and that the bittereſt of my enemies may be found alike among those bigoted aristocrats, whose prejudices have prevented them from ever hearing me, and the sanguinary and infuriated, perhaps *hired*, advocates of violence and commotion.

To

To ſum up all: I felt as the " Lover of Order," himſelf expreſſes it, that to accompliſh a peaceful and effectual reform, " There muſt be a conſent of " wills, that no miniſter and no monopoliſt would " be frantic enough to withſtand;" and I was not *frantic enough*, though the " Lover of Order" is, to ſuppoſe that this *conſent of wills*---this " magni- " ficent harmony, expanding itſelf through the whole " community," was to be produced by writing quarto volumes, and converſing with a few ſpeculative philoſophers by the fire ſide.

I therefore endeavoured to give my Lectures the form moſt conducive to general attraction. But though the form was for this reaſon popular and miſcellaneous, and though I had not always time for the moſt accurate and ſcientific arrangement, I flatter myſelf that, to the attentive reader, theſe Lectures will appear to be, not the looſe declamations of an impetuous demagogue, but in reality " Lec- " tures on the Fundamental Principles of Poli- " tics": and that the Lectures of the preſent ſeaſon in particular, will be admitted to contain a connected ſeries of well-founded and digeſted facts, the proper inveſtigation and application of which are abſolutely eſſential to every friend of reform who wiſhes really to know what are the miſeries and corruptions that call for redreſs, and the means by which that redreſs is to be procured.

Hence it will be found, though I have varied my titles as much as poſſible, that the public might not be led to ſuppoſe, that I was repeating the ſame lecture again and again, that the diſcourſe of each ſucceſſive night, till the introduction of the two obnoxious Bills, roſe, in tolerably exact progreſſion from the facts and principles of the preceding, ſo as to form one regular and connected treatiſe: an

advan-

advantage which will undoubtedly be felt much more ſenſibly by the reader than the hearer, but which, even to the caſual attendant, was not without its uſes, as it occaſioned every individual lecture to be, in reality, better digeſted and arranged.

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THE TRIBUNE. N°. XVI.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The enſuing Volumes of this work will contain nothing but the Lectures; except, perhaps, an occaſional article of poetry, to fill a page that would otherwiſe be blank. A whole Lecture will be given in each number, for the ſake of greater convenience to the reader, and uniformity in the publication. This, it is obvious, will occaſion the numbers to vary, in the quantity they contain, and in the conſequent expence of printing: an article which, from various circumſtances, is conſtantly growing upon every publiſher. Profit, however, is not the object of this publication; and if it pays the expences of the printer, and ſhort-hand writer, the author is ſatisfied: ſince a very wide circulation (and ſuch it has hitherto had) is neceſſary even for that. The numbers, therefore, of the common edition, fluctuating from two half-ſheets to three, will continue to be ſold at three-pence. When they conſiderably exceed that they muſt be liable to a conſequent advance. The numbers of the fine edition will continue invariably to be ſold at ſix-pence each.

Aldermoore, 13th July, 1795.

The PRESENT WAR *a principal cauſe of the* STARVING CONDITION *of the* PEOPLE.

—The firſt Lecture "On the cauſes of the Dear-"neſs and Scarcity of Proviſions;" *delivered by* J. THELWALL, *Wedneſday, April 29th,* 1795.

CITIZENS,

MY feelings are peculiarly gratified to find ſo thronged an attendance when a ſubject like the preſent is held out for inveſtigation; becauſe at the firſt view it muſt appear to be one of thoſe which do not promiſe as large a proportion of amuſement, as many other topics might lead you to expect. Your

attendance therefore ſhews the deep anxiety you feel for the attainment of information; and I am ſure a ſubject equally important with the preſent cannot frequently be ſelected for your attention. I know hardly any intereſt of humanity that is not involved in the enquiry. I know hardly any branch of political knowledge that is not neceſſary for the complete and thorough inveſtigation; nor any individual ſubject that would require ſo large a proportion of time and attention to do it juſtice; or ſo much ingenuity and preciſion to place the facts it involves in a proper point of view; and it is juſtice, not the oſtentation of falſe modeſty, which compels me to ſay, that I am well aſſured, I do not come before you properly qualified to do it juſtice. If I ſhould, however, in ſome degree awaken the attention of the audience, and through their means of the country at large, to the ſerious conſideration of the ſubject, and a fearleſs enquiry into the *real* ſources of the calamity, I ſhall have effected a very grand part of my object. And I am convinced that it is the duty of every individual, as far as lies in his power, to labour for the benefit of the human ſpecies, by dragging forth to public view every fact which induſtry and opportunity can put him in poſſeſſion of, relative to circumſtances which embrace ſo large a proportion of their happineſs and proſperity.

There will ariſe conſiderable difficulties, however, in the inveſtigation. If I ſhould confine myſelf ſimply to facts and arguments, I am aware that a large portion of my audience would not only be diſappointed, but from not being in the habits of abſtract ſpeculation, would fail of receiving that information which, as far as I have the power, I wiſh to give them. I am aware, alſo, on the other hand, that if I run too much into popular declamation, or give the reins too much to fancy, the great object which ſtimulates me to enter into the enquiry would be loſt. Facts would not be brought to your minds with ſufficient intereſt and ſimplicity; and inſtead of giving you that light which ſhould guide to happineſs, I might only produce that heat which by leading to turbulence, would be injurious to ſociety.

I ſhall attempt, however, as much as I can, to ſteer a middle courſe, and without diſdaining to rouſe attention by occaſional appeals to your feelings and imagination, I ſhall endeavour by the cloſeſt reaſoning which haſty preparation enables me to command, to force my way to the conviction of your

better

better judgments. By ſuch a combination *I believe* the beſt effects are to be produced: But *I am ſure* of this—that if I ſhould be able to accompliſh this purpoſe to the utmoſt of my wiſhes, I ſhould do the moſt dangerous thing for my own perſonal ſecurity and peace that any individual, barring projects of violence and commotion, could undertake. For the facts involved in this enquiry are ſo monſtrous, the abuſes of government, and thoſe who have the adminiſtration of government, ſo enormous, the ſcandalous practices and proceedings with which the underſtandings of mankind have ſo long been impoſed upon, while ſo large a portion of the people have been reduced to beggary, are ſo dreadful, that a man who ſhould ſucceſsfully ſtate them to the public, will be in eternal danger—from thoſe men at whoſe intereſts he muſt ſtrike; and if he eſcapes the traps and pitfalls of perverted law, he ought to wear a helmet on his head and a coat of mail upon his breaſt, to preſerve him from aſſaſſination.

I am however too far pledged to the public to retreat from the path of public duty. After the ſituations in which I have ſtood, after the malice that has been directed againſt me, I cannot retire from the theatre of public action without betraying and injuring the cauſe I am embarked in, more than I have yet been able to do it good. I ſhall therefore put aſide all perſonal conſiderations, and proceed to the inveſtigation of my ſubject: nor ſhall I be prevented by any conſiderations from doing all the juſtice in my power, to the truths which I mean to bring before you.

I warn you however before hand, that ſmall indeed will be the proportion of light which I can throw upon the ſubject, compared to what might be thrown upon it, by proper time and attention. Yet though I can do but little, it will be no excuſe for me if I neglect doing the little that I can.

The enormous increaſe of the price of proviſions muſt be ſo evident to the moſt caſual obſerver, that it is not neceſſary to enter into any declamation upon the ſimple circumſtance of that increaſe. If however we take into conſideration the facts of former hiſtory, and compare together the ſtate of human ſociety, in this country, in former periods and at the preſent time, the increaſe will come ſwelling upon our view in a proportion ſo monſtrous, that credulity will be ſtaggered; and I ſhould not venture to ſtate the facts to you, if I had not *ariſtocratic authority* upon which thoſe facts can be eſtabliſhed.

When we learn that, 230 years ago, *a chicken was ſold for a penny*, and *a hen for two-pence*, and that now a fowl is not to be purchaſed in the London market for leſs than five ſhillings, we are ſtruck with wonder, and are led immediately to enquire how comes this monſtrous increaſe in the price of proviſions?

The philoſopher perhaps will immediately appeal to theoretical reaſoning, and tell you of the immenſe increaſe of the quantity of circulating ſpecie—he tells you, and he tells you truly, that the mines of Peru have been conſtantly working; that the bowels of the earth have been rent in every quarter of the globe, in order to drag the hidden ſtores to the eye of day; and that hence reſults a rapid decreaſe of the value of money. He tells you, alſo, that in this country, in particular, the pompous uſe of furniture made of precious metals has very much declined, that this furniture has, alſo, got into circulation, and that hence ariſes another decreaſe of the value of money. He tells you, alſo, that the ſtate of ſociety is ſuch that the circulating medium paſſes with greater facility from hand to hand, and that in conſequence of that quick circulation he can adduce an additional reaſon for the increaſed price of the neceſſaries and luxuries of life—or in other words for the decreaſed value of money.

All this is true. But let us ſee *how far* this will carry us. It will ſhow us, it is true, that a pound in money now is not as much as a pound in money formerly was. And perhaps, if we trace the matter farther back, we ſhall find another reaſon, for the increaſe of the *nominal value* of commodities; namely, that the weight of that coin which bears the ſame nominal value, at this time, is not ſo great as it was at the periods when that nominal value was fixed.

From the firſt of the Norman Sovereigns of this country to the preſent times, we may trace a gradual diminution of the value of money: I mean to ſay in the weight of it. Originally a pound weight of ſilver was coined into no more than 20 ſhillings; and hence 20 ſhillings are called a pound at this very day; although we know very well that 20 ſhillings are not a pound weight of ſilver, at this time, but that, on the contrary, 60s. are now coined out of that quantity. This makes however nothing to my preſent argument, as by far the larger proportion, and if Biſhop Fleetwood may be conſidered as an authority, the whole of this decreaſe in the weight of money had taken place before the reign of Queen Elizabeth,

Elizabeth, from whom I date the calculations I am about to make. For that Prelate in his very preciſe and laborious chronology of the fluctuations in the ſtandard and value of money, makes the ſterling coin of Queen Elizabeth, correſpondent with the ſtandard of the preſent day.

Let us ſee then how far theſe facts will account for the increaſed price of proviſions: for if it is really true, that the ſole cauſes of this increaſed price are the increaſe of circulating caſh, and the variations of the ſtandard of money, then the condition of the lower orders of ſociety, and of all orders, ought to be preciſely the ſame as before: becauſe, it being the money that has declined, and not the articles of conſumption that have advanced in value, the conſequence is, that no other difference has actually taken place, than an increaſed incumbrance in the quantity of money that you are to take to market with you to purchaſe the articles you want.

A little enquiry, however, will teach us how very ſmall a proportion of the ſwollen price of proviſions is to be attributed to theſe cauſes—for at the very time of which I have been ſpeaking to you, while depicting the very moderate price of ſeveral articles of conſumption, the common price of manual labour was 8d. a day. You will therefore immediately ſee that there is no ſort of proportion between the increaſe of the price of manual labour and the increaſe of the price of proviſions, during that 230 years which has thus paſſed away, ſweeping, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, in their flight, every comfort and enjoyment from the cheerleſs tables of the induſtrious poor.

As I told you before, I have ariſtocratic authority for theſe facts. Mr. *Hume* has never yet been ſuſpected of Jacobiniſm; yet Mr. *Hume*, in the 3d Appendix to his Hiſtory of England, (*vol.* 8, *page* 346, *of Cadell's ſmall edition*, for I think it right to be very particular in my quotations) ſtates it as a fact, upon the authority of an ancient author, that between 1550 and 1560 "a pig or a gooſe was ſold for 4d. a "good capon was ſold for 3d. a chicken for 1d. and a hen "for 2d.: and yet," continues this author, who wrote at the very period relative to which he ſpeaks, "at this time the "wages of a common labourer was 8d. per day." Now ſuppoſing that the prices of other things were equally low, according to the preſent ratio, we find that *the wages of a ſingle day would have bought the poor labourer a fat pig, a loaf of bread, and ſome good ale to drink for himſelf and his family.*

But

But conſider, I pray you, how many days a poor labourer muſt work before he muſt touch either ale or fat pig in the preſent ſituation of affairs. For my own part, I do not ſee why a poor labourer (without whom, by the way, we ſhould none of us have either ale, nor pigs, nor bread, nor any thing elſe) ſhould not occaſionally have his pig to banquet upon, and his pot of ale after it to refreſh himſelf. But alas! theſe things are now entirely out of the queſtion; and if a man has three or four children, his ordinary wages will not even buy a ſufficiency of bread alone: for what is the preſent price of wages? I believe we may eſtimate them at about ſixteen pence per day throughout the country; and I am in poſſeſſion of facts enough to prove, that for ordinary labour, that is to ſay, for eleven months out of twelve, this is the outſide. Now the price of a half peck loaf, which for ſuch a family is not too much, is twenty-pence. Such are the bleſſings of our Conſtitution in Church and State as now adminiſtered.

But ſuppoſe we take the eſtimate from London, where the price of labour is conſiderably higher. The great part of labouring men employed in this capital receive from twenty-pence to two ſhillings a day: (Some particular trades, among whom combination is eaſy, have by a ſort of inſurrection and violence, extorted more!) But what is the price of a pig or goooſe now. I never go to market, Citizens, and therefore am obliged to report theſe circumſtances at ſecond-hand; but I am told that a good pig or gooſe at this time will coſt about *ſeven ſhillings* inſtead of *four-pence*; that a capon inſtead of *three-pence* is *ſix ſhillings*; and that fowls, inſtead of a penny and two-pence, are about four ſhillings and ſix-pence, at the loweſt.

Now taking the average of the increaſe from theſe facts; ſuppoſing, for the preſent, that the increaſe of other articles has been proportionate, the preſent price of proviſions is about twenty-two times—Mark the fact, Citizens—the price of proviſions is multiplied by about twenty-two, from what it was at the period I have been ſpeaking of. Well, are the wages of the labouring poor increaſed in a proportion of 22 to one? If inſtead of this, they are ſcarcely doubled, let us mark in what a very different ſituation the lower orders of ſociety are placed, from what they were in the golden days of Queen Beſs as they are called.—(Golden they might be, to the poor, in this reſpect: but I cannot help putting in my

caveat as to the general praiſe beſtowed upon the reign of that deſpotic termagant).

If the price of labour had kept pace with the growing price of pigs and of poultry, the wages of a labouring man would have been at this time not leſs than *fifteen ſhillings per day*.

Now Citizens, if theſe are facts, and if it is alſo true that no maſter could poſſibly afford to give his labourers fifteen ſhillings per day, I am entitled to draw this concluſion—that the increaſe of the price of proviſions does not principally reſult from the decreaſe of the value of money, from the larger quantity of circulating ſpecie, or from any of thoſe cauſes which mock philoſophers have appealed to, in order to gratify the tyrants who paid them for varniſhing over their oppreſſions, and deluding the people who liſtened to their fallacious arguments.

Citizens this is not all. I have ſome reaſon to believe that, at the time I am now ſpeaking of, the uſual day's labour of a working man, inſtead of twelve or fourteen hours, was but eight. I will tell you my reaſon for ſuppoſing this. I know it to be the fact, that, in a particular part of the country, it was but eight hours at that time; and you will judge how far it is likely that this was an excluſive privilege.

About three years ago, being on the coaſt of Kent, and taking up my habitation at a friend's houſe, at Dinchurch wall, which keeps out the ſea from Romney Marſh; and being at the houſe of one of the principal members of the corporation by which that diſtrict has the misfortune to be governed, I had an opportunity of learning ſome particulars relative to their regulations. By the charter of this corporation, which was granted, I underſtand, about the time I have been ſpeaking of, the price of the day's labour, for a man working upon the wall, which ſtands in need of conſtant repair, is fixed at a ſhilling.

This will ſhew you that at that period 8d. per diem was the average price, and not the maximum of the price paid for labour, for the price of a day's labour, upon Dinchurch wall, for keeping out the ſea from Romney Marſh, was fixed by charter at 1s. Being fixed by charter, it remains the ſame at this time, and the Corporation itſelf has not the power of altering it. But the day's labour upon this wall being originally only eight hours, the poor labourers, finding themſelves no longer able to live twenty-four hours upon one day's work,

perform

perform regularly a day and an half's work every day: that is to ſay, they toil twelve hours for which they receive 1s. 6d. for the ſupport of themſelves and families.

This is only an individual inſtance I grant; and therefore does not authorize a very poſitive concluſion; but as it has led me to ſuſpect, that the day's labour was anciently no more than eight hours, I ſtate the foundation upon which the ſuſpicion reſts, in hopes that others may think it worth while to enquire further into the ſubject. It is certainly worth enquiry; and for my own part, whether it was the general practice or not, I am thoroughly convinced that it is more than enough for the intereſts and happineſs of ſociety; and more than enough to be put upon the individual. Nor can I give unqualified praiſe to the laws of any country, that does not enable a poor man to maintain his family in decency by the diurnal labour of eight hours.

Nay Citizens, if—which I believe never can be the caſe, and therefore I don't wiſh to enforce it upon you as a thing practicable—but if an equal diviſion of labour among all the inhabitants of this iſland, and if the luxuries, the follies, and fopperies of life were baniſhed, even one hour per diem to each individual would be labour enough for the comfortable ſubſiſtence of all. Nay I am informed, that Mr. *Nicholſon*, a chymiſt and philoſopher, whoſe very name commands our reverence, has abſolutely calculated, that the whole labour employed in producing the abſolute neceſſaries of life, when divided equally among the whole population of the country, is not more than *half an hour* in the day.

Now though I think it a very good thing, that ſome of the *embelliſhments*, as well as the NECESSARIES of life, ſhould be attended to, though I think it a very good thing that a country ſhould be adorned with ſplendid edifices, magnificent paintings, books to inform the mind, and diverſions and indulgences to relax and ſoften it—that we ſhould have articles of eaſe and gratification, as well as the bare accommodations of life; yet I do not think it right to grind the faces of the poor upon the mill-ſtone of oppreſſion, that a few worthleſs individuals may arrogate to themſelves the individual poſſeſſion of all thoſe comforts and advantages.

Citizens, when I am thoroughly aware of the applications that may be made of what I am ſaying, which I could wiſh always to be, and how far the inferences will go which I attempt to draw from the facts I am ſtating, I am very deſirous

that

that I ſhould never appear to draw a concluſion beyond that point in which the facts, fairly and candidly ſtated, will bear me out. I ought therefore to obſerve, that, with reſpect to the former concluſion upon the prices of proviſions, there is ſome degree of fallacy, and that when this fallacy is fairly ſtated, it muſt be admitted to operate as a drawback in ſome degree, with reſpect to the diſproportion between the prices of proviſion and of labour; and conſequently that the depreſſion of the lower orders of ſociety is *not quite ſo extravagant* as it might, in the firſt inſtance, appear. I wiſh to put you in poſſeſſion of all the facts that I am maſter of; and I ſhall not therefore be very much afraid of appearing to contradict in one part of my lecture what I advance in another.

I leave ungenerous advantages to the wrong ſide of the queſtion. Our cauſe ſtands not in need of them. I wiſh to ſubmit the whole of the reaſonings, pro and con, fairly and candidly, that you may ſee how much and how little the facts I bring before you bear upon the concluſions I wiſh to adduce.

Some abatement then is to be made from the calculation drawn from poultry and other articles of that deſcription, becauſe the fact is, that it was not, originally, ſo much as it is now, the practice of a few particular individuals of the privileged and opulent orders of ſociety to monopolize to themſelves a particular ſpecies of food. Luxuries did not always bear a price ſo diſproportionate to the neceſſities of life as they do now. There was a time when ſalmon (for example) and all luxurious fiſh were ſo plentiful and abundant, that the pooreſt individual in ſociety as well as the richeſt, could have them upon their tables, and banquet upon them to ſatiety.

I had an opportunity to mention to you once before, that it was found neceſſary, at Wincheſter, to inſert a clauſe in the indentures of poor boys apprenticed from the pariſh, to prevent them from being fed more than three times in the week upon ſalmon. But means have ſince been taken to preclude the neceſſity of ſuch clauſes. It was known by the great and mighty potentates who dance before us in the puppet ſhow of ſtate, adorned with ſtars and garters—It was known (I was going to ſay by theſe mountebanks) but I mean by theſe *right honourable gentlemen*, that luxuries were adapted to pamper their appetites, and fill them with the ſinful luſts of the flesh, and thereby corrupt their morals and render them

but little diſpoſed to go to church, and ſtill leſs diſpoſed to liſten to every thing that the gentleman in the black gown ſhould ſay to them, and finally to render them unfit for labour, and deſtroy their conſtitutions. Theſe *Right Honourable Gentlemen*, therefore, with reſpect to many of thoſe articles, were willing to engroſs the dangerous enjoyment to themſelves, knowing very well that their own morals could not be made much worſe, and that if they did eat and drink themſelves to death, it was matter of very little conſequence to ſociety. Salmon was therefore contracted for by their agents of luxury, the great fiſhmongers; and agreements were notoriouſly made that only a given number ſhould be brought to market, and the reſt, let them be as plentiful as they would, ſhould ſerve to manure the earth. Other practices (particularly the breaking up of ſmall farms) have tended to increaſe the price of pigs and poultry: it being found improper for the ſwiniſh multitude to have ſuch food—there being ſomething monſtrous in the idea of one pig eating another.

Theſe circumſtances have cauſed a great diſproportion between the prices of thoſe articles and of the articles of common food: much greater within the remembrance of ſome perſons perhaps to whom I am now ſpeaking, than it uſed to be. But ſuppoſe we take the general difference in the price of proviſions at the moſt moderate calculation poſſible: ſuppoſe we ſhould admit, for the preſent, that the price of theſe articles was no more at the period I am ſpeaking of than the price of common butcher's meat: ſuppoſe for example at the ſame time that a chicken was to be bought for a penny, meat was a penny per pound; what ſhall we then find the proportion to be? Meat a penny a pound, and labour eightpence per day. *The price of a day's labour, then, at that period, at the loweſt computation, was equal to the price of eight pounds of butcher's meat.* Is that the caſe now?

If this is the loweſt calculation that can be admitted, then, certainly, whatever the reſult is, as to the difference between the proportionate prices of labour and proviſions then, and the proportionate prices of labour and proviſions now, we ſhall be compelled to admit that ſuch difference does now exiſt between the condition of the laborious part of the community then and now.

Well then to make the price of labour at this period equal in point of real advantage to the price of labour at that period,—that is to ſay, to enable a man for the ſame quantum

of

of labour to get the ſame quantity of comforts and accommodations, the average price of labour ought to be 5s. 4d. per diem throughout the country.

Let me be underſtood accurately. I do not mean to ſet myſelf up as the arbitrary judge of what ought to be, and what ought not to be, the price of labour. That is not what I am aiming at. I want to convince you of the nature and cauſes of the evil; and then let the good ſenſe and underſtanding of the country ſeek for its remedy. Whether the proper remedy is to remove the cauſes of the extravagant price of proviſions, or to raiſe the wages of labour, or whether both ought in ſome degree to be done, I do not at preſent decide: But I think I am entitled from this ſtatement to draw this concluſion—that there is a monſtrous advance upon the prices of the neceſſaries and accommodations of life; the whole of which cannot be attributed to the decreaſe of the real value of the money by which theſe articles are bought. I think I am entitled, alſo, to conclude—that either one or other of theſe two circumſtances is the fact—either the quantity of money has been conſtantly increaſing, and the prices of proviſions have conſequently kept equal pace with that increaſe, while the higher orders of ſociety have monopolized the increaſing money and all the conſequent advantages to themſelves, ſo that the lower orders of ſociety, by whom the whole was produced, have not been proportionably rewarded; or elſe there is an increaſe in the price of the articles of conſumption, diſproportionate to an extravagant degree, with the increaſe of the ſpecie by which thoſe proviſions is to be purchaſed.

I believe, Citizens, both theſe ſtatements are true. I believe, from cauſes which I ſhall afterwards inveſtigate, that the price of the neceſſaries of life has increaſed beyond the increaſe of the circulating medium: I mean the *general circulating medium.* I ſhall ſpeak of *that ſwindling bubble called paper credit*, at another part of theſe Lectures. I believe, alſo, that there has been a neglect of the lower orders of ſociety; and that the increaſe of their wages has not borne any ſort of proportion with the real *increaſe of the quantity*, and conſequent *decreaſe of the value* of money.

But let us bring the compariſon a little nearer to us. Let us take facts of more recent date: and ſee what we are enabled to conclude from them.

I ſhall now proceed to ſtatements to the accuracy of which (if they are accurate) a great proportion of you will be able

to bear teſtimony; or the fallacy of which (if they are falſe) you will readily detect:—facts relative to the prices of proviſions within the laſt twenty-five years. I ſhall then compare theſe prices with the increaſe of the price of labour; and ſee how far the lower orders of the people have been benefited even during that period, for a great part of which the growth of wealth, commerce and proſperity have been ſo frequently boaſted, by that treacherous individual, who has all the while had his dagger at the heart of every bleſſing, and every comfort and accommodation of the country.

Twenty years ago bread was four-pence per quartern, now it is nine-pence farthing. [*I underſtand that in London it has ſince riſen to a ſhilling.*]

Nay this increaſe, monſtrous as it is, has another aggravating circumſtance—namely, that many of thoſe vegetables which uſed to decreaſe the conſumption of bread, are now ſcarcely to be got at any price whatever. Potatoes which, ſince I have been a houſekeeper, uſed commonly to be ſold at five pounds for two-pence, are now three half-pence per pound. This circumſtance may appear trifling and ridiculous to ſome of us: but it is no trifle, it is no ridicule to the poor individual who has five or ſix children to ſupport; and who hitherto has been able to give them but little ſuſtenance, but what was derived from theſe potatoes, ſopped in a little of that chalk and water which in London we call milk.

But theſe are not the only articles which have thus increaſed in their price. We talk of famine in France. We have a worſe famine at home. They have had no ſcarcity but of bread alone. We, it ſeems, have a ſcarcity of every thing. No kind of *meat*, in any part of that country, has ever been more than four-pence per pound. What is the caſe with us? Boiling beef, twenty or twenty-five years ago, might be bought at from two-pence to two-pence halfpenny: now from ſix pence to ſix-pence halfpenny; roaſting ditto at four-pence now at eight-pence; pork and veal at four-pence halfpenny, now at eight-pence halfpenny; mutton three-pence halfpenny and four-pence now eight-pence; for good ſalt butter that uſed to be bought at five-pence we now pay eleven-pence; loaf ſugar, (good ariſtocratic loaf ſugar) ſuch as you muſt now pay thirteen or fourteen-pence per pound for, was then ſold at ſixpence; as for the cheap ſort of loaf ſugar, as it is called, for which you pay eleven-pence or a ſhilling, at this time, it is ſuch coarſe democratic ſtuff as no indivi-

dual,

dual, at the period I am ſpeaking of, would have bought at any price whatever. Moiſt ſugar (a very important article to poor people, who wiſh to keep their children in health by regaling them frequently with a fruit pudding, uſed to be two-pence halfpenny per pound, it is now nine-pence. Coals, till within theſe ſeven years, were ſcarcely ever ſo high as a ſhilling per buſhel. They have been three ſhillings and three ſhillings and ſixpence, during the late inclement ſeaſon; and twenty-pence was no uncommon price the winter before. What is the reſult of all this?—That coals have increaſed their price threefold, common ſugar almoſt fourfold, butter and bread conſiderably more than double; ſome meats have increaſed threefold in their price, and the average of all animal food is conſiderably more than double the price now that it was twenty or twenty five years ago. Now then ſuppoſing we could admit that all this increaſe of price reſulted from the increaſe of gold and ſilver, from the wealth, and grandeur, and ſplendour, and proſperity of the country—and Mr. *Dundas* having told you that *general bankruptcy is a proof of the proſperity of the country*, may perhaps be able to prove to you, that the increaſed price of proviſions is a proof of the grandeur, proſperity, and happineſs of the country: But, if this be true, what juſtice has been done to thoſe millions of our fellow citizens, from whoſe labour, from whoſe induſtry, from the ſweat of whoſe brow, all that wealth and proſperity has been reaped? Ought not this wealth, grandeur, and proſperity, to have enabled the labourer who procured them, at leaſt to eat as well, drink as well, cloath himſelf as well, lay on as good a bed, and be ſheltered by as good a roof as formerly?

For the accompliſhment of this, the price of labour ought to be conſiderably more than doubled. It has not, however, upon an average, from one end of the country to the other, been increaſed during that period one fourth. In ſome places it has ſcarcely been increaſed at all; and, in many, not one ſixth. Mark then the bleſſed effects of the martial adminiſtrations of *North* and *Pitt*; two characters that will go hand in hand down to infamy; the one for the ſordid and puſillanimous cowardice with which he ſuffered himſelf to be made the chief tool and inſtrument of a war he never approved, the other for his ſavage propenſity to the deſtruction of the human race, and the unfeeling duplicity with which he has purſued his ambitious views. But why do I put epithets to the word? Hypocriſy itſelf includes every thing that is deteſtable and abhorred;

abhorred; and wherever you find that ſcowling countenance, that ſhuffling gait, that lapſided arrogance of deportment which marks the political maypole of this devoted country, ſet down the being thus ſtamped by the broad ſeal of nature, for all that the catalogue of guilt contains, from ſolitary intoxication and debauchery, to the ravage of nations and the depopulation of continents, and the moſt inveterate hatred to the liberties and happineſs of mankind.

Thus, then, we find that the labourers of this country, at this time poſſeſs conſiderably leſs than half the neceſſaries, comforts, and accommodations, which they were able to obtain twenty or twenty-five years ago, and leſs than a third of what recompenſed the ſame or a leſs degree of labour in the middle of laſt century: while at the ſame time, the penſions, places, and luxuries of our rulers have been extravagantly increaſed. The wealth, the power, the inſolence of ſucceſſive adminiſtrations, have kept pace with the growing miſery of the people; and while one are ſtripped of half their neceſſaries, the others are inſulting common ſenſe and common decency, with the pompous diſplay of more than twice their former opulence and waſteful grandeur. Yet *ariſtocrats* have the ſhameleſs audacity to tell us, that if the price of the neceſſaries of life has increaſed, the price of labour has increaſed alſo.

It is a courtly virtue to lie with the words of truth; and therefore I give them credit for their conſiſtency. The price of labour has indeed increaſed from eight-pence to a ſhilling, and from a ſhilling to fifteen-pence, while the neceſſaries of life have riſen at a proportion of from eight-pence to two ſhillings, and from two ſhillings to five.

Such then are the facts with reſpect to the uſual articles of common accommodation. But there are other articles which, though not immediately conſumed by man, have alſo a tendency to increaſe his miſery, when they are increaſed in their price. Hay, for example, and indeed every individual article that bears any price whatever. What then are the facts relative to thoſe articles. Have they increaſed in price, or have they not? Within five years, from the year 1790, oats have increaſed 75 per cent in price.

I believe I ſtate this fact from ſuch authority, that I do not ſtand in danger of any contradiction. I am not myſelf an adept in the market price of theſe articles, or in the commerce that is carried on relative to them: but I believe I can ſtate from the beſt authority, that ſince the year 1790, the price

price of oats has increaſed 75 per cent. while hay, every article of pulſe, and a great variety of thoſe articles which contribute, in a ſecond-hand way, to the comforts of life, have kept pace with this increaſe.

What then ſhall we ſay to all theſe facts?—Is it neceſſary, or is it not, that the cauſes ſhould be enquired into? I believe it is neceſſary: for whatever may be the caſe with reſpect to theological matters, with reſpect to political concerns, I believe it is virtue to know good from evil. I believe, that we ought to pluck the apple of ſcience whenever it hangs within our reach. I am ſure, alſo, that if it is good to enquire, it is neceſſary that the people ſhould make the enquiry for themſelves: for I do not believe the miniſtry will be inclined to make it for them. At this period indeed they have better employment abroad. Their wits and faculties are too much engaged in ſhowing how conſiſtent it is for them to talk of the faithleſſneſs of republicans, by perſuading the Royaliſts of La Vendee to break thro' all the oaths and engagements they have made with the republic of France. They are too buſy in ſending their 50,000 ſtand of arms, with their ſcoundrel run-away emigrant officers, to excite freſh inſurrections —freſh ſcenes of blood and maſſacre, among the ignorant prieſt ridden peaſants of Poictou;—in arming afreſh the Chouan banditti—the midnight murderers of Brittany, that they may have the pretence of ſomething like a ſhadow of a ſhadow of the ſhadow of a probability of ſucceſs, upon the ſtrength of which, to perſuade the people of Britain to be gulled, once more to ſpend another forty millions in a freſh campaign; and to have the honour of finding themſelves in a worſe ſituation at the end than ever.

However this gives me no uneaſineſs: for things at the worſt muſt ſurely mend; and our rulers ſeem determined that it ſhall not be long before they drive matters to the very worſt that human nature is capable of bearing. But ſay theſe *virtuous men*, and their *moſt ſapient advocates*, it is not right to enter into enquiries of this kind, at this time. Conſider the ſtate of the public mind. It will lead to commotion. Such is the trick and cheat which they have been putting upon our underſtandings, and perhaps upon their own, for centuries; ſuch have been always the pretences of the individuals who have walked the ſame infamous round before them, and ſuch always will be the pretences of thoſe who follow in the ſame routine. The *delinquents* will always think it is not a proper time to enquire into the ſtate of their delinquency.

But

But the fact is, that commotions ſpring from ignorance, and not from knowledge. He who is wiſe knows how to redreſs the grievances he labours under. He who is ignorant feels the ſting of diſaſter: but, inſtead of taking the path of amelioration, plunges headlong into violence. Men ignorant and uninſtructed become mad and frantic with their wrongs: for what is madneſs? What is phrenzy; but the want of knowledge and capacity to underſtand right from wrong, truth from falſehood, and to perceive which is the way to accompliſh thoſe deſigns which wiſdom, juſtice, and virtue would dictate.

I wiſh to allay, not to increaſe fermentation. I wiſh I knew how to give you a *Spartan determination of ſoul*, together with the benevolence and philanthropy with which a few ſpeculative philoſophers of the preſent day have endeavoured to inſpire mankind. I would make you hard as rocks, againſt the aſſaults of corruption, prejudice and oppreſſion. I would make you ſtand like a marble wall, and defy the aſſaults and encroachments of thoſe wretches who dare to ſet a foot upon the ſacred boundary and landmark of liberty. But, at the ſame time I would fill your ſouls with a deſtation of every thing like violence, rancour, and cruelty. O that I could make you feel the true determination of generous valour, and that you might be as wiſe and benevolent as you were determined and reſolute!

How is it to be done? How ſhall I ſteel your breaſts, and ſoften your hearts at the ſame moment? If I knew how to do this I ſhould then indeed be fit to ſtand in this Tribune, and liſtened to by my fellow citizens; becauſe I ſhould then be able to point out to you the certain means of redreſs, and inſure you ſucceſs in your ſtruggles for the happineſs of future ages, without aggravating, even for an hour, the miſery of the preſent generation.

I am ſure, however, that this effect is not to be produced by intimidation or by ignorance. I have ſeen, ſince I laſt had the honour of meeting the countenances of my enlightened fellow citizens in this place; I have ſeen ſome of the lamentable conſequences of the miſerable ignorance, in which the governors of this country contrive to keep the people. I have been rambling, according to my wonted practice, in the true democratic way, on foot, from village to village, from pleaſant hill to barren heath, recreating my mind with the beauties, and with the deformities of nature. I have traced over many a barren track of land in that county (Surrey) which

which is called the Gentleman's county; becauſe, forſooth the beggarly *ſans culottes* are routed out from it; their vulgar cottages, ſo offenſive to the proud eye of luxury, are exterminated, and nothing but the ſtately domes of uſeleſs grandeur preſent themſelves to our eyes. I have been travelling over thoſe ſpots; I have enjoyed the fine proſpects from Leith hill; and have turned round, with a ſigh, to behold how many a little uncultivated valley there lies waſte; how many a beautiful ſpot lies deſolate, which a thouſandth part of that revenue which has been ſo madly waſted in the preſent deteſtable war, might have converted into ſmiling gardens and luxuriant fields, yielding food and raiment to many a poor family, while their little ſmiling cottages might have imparted delight, where now nothing but gloomy ſterility is to be ſeen.

In the courſe of theſe rambles I have dropped, occaſionally, into the little hedge ale-houſes to refreſh myſelf. I have ſat down among the rough clowns, whoſe tattered garments were ſoiled with their ruſtic labours; for I have not forgot that all mankind are equally my brethren; and I love to ſee the labourer in his ragged coat—that is I love the labourer: I am ſorry his coat is obliged to be ſo ragged. I love the labourer then, in his ragged coat, as well as I love the Peer in his ermine; perhaps better; for indeed I ſhould not be ſorry if the ermine of the Peer were employed in keeping the children of the poor ragged-coated peaſant warm of a winter's night. I have mixed, therefore, with theſe people; and I have grieved to hear their ſentiments. Commotion and violence they can readily commend. They can applaud the frantic proceedings of thoſe, who have ſeized upon the ſhambles, the mills, and the bakers' ſhops; and thus have endeavoured, by their arbitrary proceedings, to reduce the price of proviſions. Thus far they think the interference of the people right: But as to political enquiry, to this they are too many of them dead. The generality of them ſtill cheriſh the prejudices that have cauſed their miſery. They hate a Frenchman, for being a Jacobin, as much as they formerly hated him for wearing *wooden ſhoes*, tho' they know no more of the meaning of the word *Jacobin*, than they did before of the guilt that was attached to ſhoes of wood. Nay too many of them idolize the name of a contemptible wretch whoſe father's reputation was the ſole cauſe of his popularity, and whom a few grains of enquiry would lead them to execrate as the author of that very ſcarcity of which they complain. I

have argued with theſe men upon the impropriety of tumult and violence: for I abhor commotion more than I abhor any thing, except deſpotiſm and corruption; and I never meet with the advocate of violence, but I endeavour to ſhow him its wickedneſs and abſurdity. But, alas, the uninformed maſs love this violence. They uphold the propriety of it, becauſe they are ignorant of the real ſources of their calamities; becauſe they do not know that the miller, the baker, and the butcher, againſt whom their violence is directed, are as much oppreſſed as themſelves; and that they muſt look higher if they would find the real inſtruments of their oppreſſion; that they muſt think more deeply, if they would learn the means by which that oppreſſion is to be removed.

The fact is, as I ſhall ſhew you in the courſe of this enquiry, that though the cauſes are multifarious indeed, that have produced this oppreſſion, the greater portion of them is to be traced to the errors, to the vices, to the ſelfiſh uſurpations of thoſe miniſters, and their predeceſſors, who think that no man has rights who was not wrapped in a ſwaddling band of ermine, and that no man can be entitled to reaſon, unleſs he has, either in poſſeſſion or expectation, a bit of blue ribbon, or a few gold and ſilver ſpangles embroidered on his night-gown.

There can be no doubt that the advocates of adminiſtration muſt be anxious enough to prevent enquiry; becauſe enquiry muſt point out who are the cauſes of the wrong; and what is the mode by which redreſs is to be obtained. There is no doubt that tumult and violence are pleaſant things to them; becauſe they give them pretences for giving additional force to the arm of authority, and for drawing tighter thoſe reins of government, which, though the poor may bleed at the mouth while the gag preſſes hard upon them, it is pleaſant enough for thoſe who only drive, and whip, and ſpur them, to be holding with a hard hand. They, therefore, have little objection to the butcher, the baker, or the miller being ſacrificed to the ignorant indignation of the people, provided thereby they avert the dreaded calamity of calm enquiry, and ſhun the light of political truth, which brings conviction to the minds of the people, and threatens, by the unanimous ſentiment of virtue and juſtice which it might inſpire, to drive them and their crimes from the ſeat of power. This they muſt abhor; becauſe whenever that unanimous ſentiment of common ſenſe and juſtice ſhall prevail among mankind, down drops the curtain upon the mighty puppets of the day; the

the wires they have been moved by, will no longer make them perform their evolutions, and Punchinello and his family ſtrut in their embroidered robes no more.

Citizens, the field of enquiry that opens before me is immenſe. The preſent ſubject involves almoſt every queſtion connected with finance; it involves the conſideration of that deluſion which has been ſo long upheld, paper credit; it involves the ſyſtem of taxation; it involves the preſent mode of partitioning land into farms and tenements; it involves the ſcandalous neglect which has occaſioned one third of the land in this iſland, (taking England, Scotland and Wales, together) to remain in an uncultivated ſtate.

On the ſucceeding evening I ſhall give you the facts ſtated by the committee of the board of agriculture, and prove to you that one third of the lands of this country abſolutely lie waſte. What a ſcandal to the government of the country! What a ſhame that penſions, places, and emoluments ſo immenſe, ſhould be waſted upon a few worthleſs individuals, while ſo large a portion of the country lies uſeleſs, which, with a tythe of that money, might be converted into regions of plenty and population!

The deſpotiſm of China would bluſh at ſuch abſurdity. Go there; behold the population thick almoſt as the bearded grain that grows upon the cultivated ground. Behold every ſtreet ſwarming with human beings. What is the reaſon, that even in the midſt of deſpotiſm the human ſpecies can thus be multiplied? They have no pernicious ſyſtem of paper credit; they have no monopolized ſyſtem of external commerce; they have no monopoly of lands into the hands of a few holders; they are not year after year, and month after month, turning the little tenant out of his farm, to throw a huge province almoſt into one concern, and on the ſpeculative mercantile trafficker in land beſtow that which might produce the comfortable ſupport of numerous families, and tend thereby to the happineſs and proſperity of the country.

It is not my intention to enter into the whole of this wide field on the preſent evening. I ſhall confine my obſervations during the remainder of this Lecture to a few particular points, which are immediately connected with the abuſes of government, and with thoſe circumſtances that preſs particularly upon the preſent moment.

There are undoubtedly circumſtances which have occaſioned a gradual increaſe in the price of articles of the firſt neceſſity, in this country; there are other circumſtances

which have tended to produce an abſolute ſcarcity, not only in England, but in Europe.

Among thoſe which have tended to increaſe the price of proviſions we may reckon the enormous growth of corruption among the higher orders of ſociety; by which the expences of government have been greatly increaſed. We are to conſider, alſo, among the cauſes of permanent evil, the reſtrictions upon the exportation and the importation of corn; and we are to conſider, alſo, a burden rendered venerable by its antiquity, but whoſe grey hairs can no longer preſerve it from contempt, I mean the oppreſſive burthen of tithes, and a great variety of other cauſes, which ſhall be enumerated in their turn. The part, however, which I ſhall particularly dwell upon this evening, is that which relates to the preſent war, and which, as all other wars in ſome degree, but the preſent more than any former, has occaſioned a conſiderable increaſe of the price of proviſions, independent of taxation, independent of the additional burdens which encumber traffic —as the increaſe of freightage and inſurance, and the like.

The former of theſe is paid upon all articles of conſumption, which are removed from one part of the coaſt to another; and therefore corn, coals, and other articles which are of home conſumption, as well as ſugar and articles of foreign produce, partake of the conſequent increaſe of price.

Now, Citizens, I ſhall ſtate a few facts relative to an individual article, which will ſhew you, by analagous reaſoning, how conſiderable an increaſe in the price of the neceſſaries of life muſt have been produced by the preſent war, by the operation of theſe two ſpecies of burthen alone. The freightage of ſugars was only four ſhillings per hundred weight before the war, now it is ten ſhillings; the inſurance upon the ſame article, which uſed to be ſix pounds per cent. is now increaſed to ſixteen.

You will pleaſe to remember, that the increaſe of freightage ariſes from ſo many individuals who uſed to be employed in commercial navigation, being preſſed on board our men of war, to be cut to pieces and deſtroyed for the glory and honour of William Pitt and Co. Such is the price which one half of the community pays for having the other half cut and blown to pieces in ridiculous wars!

With reſpect to the increaſe of the inſurance, that is to be attributed to the activity of the enemy. For as they ſometimes take the liberty of ſweetening their tea with the ſugar we have paid for, the under-writers of courſe muſt take a

greater

greater premium before they can inſure the reſpective cargoes. And by the way it ſhould be obſerved, that theſe gentlemen under-writers do not fail to take advantage of theſe circumſtances. War is a ſort of harveſt moon to theſe legal gamblers; ſo much ſo, that I remember, at the cloſe of the American war, hearing one of them lament that hoſtilities were over ſo ſoon—for, that if they had continued a year or two longer, he ſhould have feathered his neſt completely.

Citizens, I do not mean to contend, that the freightage and inſurance of all articles have increaſed in the ſame proportion; but this will ſhow you how to account for one part of the increaſe of the price of the neceſſaries of life reſulting from the preſent war. In ſhort, there is a thouſand ways in which it affects them, beſides the wholeſale accumulation of taxation, and the obvious inconveniences of decaying mauufactures and ſtagnated commerce.

See, then, the advantages of going to war, to thoſe whoſe deſtiny it is to ſurvive at home; as to thoſe poor beings who had their heads knocked off abroad, according to Mr. *Burke*, they are gone to receive their reward; and therefore he might tell you the faſter our brothers and friends have their heads knocked off the better, becauſe they are going ſo much the faſter to heaven. And as he had the honour of being educated among the Jeſuits at *St. Omer*'s, I am ſure I ſhall not contend points of religion with him. But admitting this to be the caſe, there can be no doubt that heaven has been very well peopled by the triumphs of the preſent war; the laſt campaign particularly, the exploits of which it is unneceſſary to enumerate: and, indeed, it would put one out of breath, as it did the French, to follow them from field of glory to field of glory—from the frontiers of France to the marſhes of Flanders, and from the marſhes of Flanders to the dykes of Holland, and from the dykes of Holland to the devil knows where.—It would be impoſſible to enumerate the atchievements which will immortalize the name of the Britiſh Frederic, and cauſe poſterity to go down upon their knees and bleſs the wiſe heads of *Pitt*, of *Jenkinſon* and *Loughborough*, and all the ſapient projectors of this moſt glorious, ſalutary, and triumphant war. Paying a little more for the ſugar to ſweeten our tea, or drinking it without, or having a plumb-pudding or pye or two the leſs every week, are trifles in compariſon with the permanent advantages reaped from undertakings ſo wiſe, and exploits ſo glorious.

There is another thing has produced an increaſe of the price of all neceſſaries to be ſhipped from one part of the country

country to another, namely, the embargo laid upon our merchandize, in order to enable Mr. *Pitt* to get more ſailors to fight *his* battles for him.

But there are, in the preſent war, circumſtances of peculiar aggravation, which it ſeems our ſtate politicians could not calculate.

It was boaſted by that great teacher of the Rule of Three, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that we ſhould have for our allies all the powers of Europe. It was well anſwered by his powerful opponent in the Houſe of Commons (much more powerful he would be ſtill, if he would ſhake off the trammels of party!)—It was well anſwered by him, that the greater our alliances, the greater our calamities; becauſe the conſequence was, that all Europe being engaged in war, no port would be left open, no place would be neutral, and therefore the greater would be the ſtagnation both in our external and internal commerce.

But he might have gone further; he might have ſaid, not only our commerce is ſtagnated, but the very ſources of ſubſiſtence are dried up, in conſequence of this grand alliance. All Europe is at war. Your own produce, ſcarcely ever ſufficient for your own ſupport, is now to be ſent in large quantities to the continent, to ſupply all the armies of all the deſpots of Europe. Stripped, as you will be, of every neceſſary article of life, where is the neutral nation that is to ſupply you? What corn will you get from any of the powers on the right or on the left bank of the Rhine? What ſupplies will you draw from any of thoſe places from which you uſed to have them? None.—You have plunged all Europe into war; all Europe, of courſe, muſt neglect the cultivation and tillage of its land; all Europe muſt loſe the opportunity of ſupplying you with the neceſſary articles which your profligacy will deſtroy.—Where then are you to ſeek, in the midſt of thoſe bleſſed victories which you anticipate (how well they have been fulfilled we have ſince ſeen)—where are you to ſeek for food to ſuſtain the ſoldiery who are to fight your battles abroad, and to feed the poor manufacturers who will be languiſhing in diſeaſe and want at home?—Will you expect it from America!—from America, who, if ſhe has one grain of juſtice or common ſenſe, muſt love the cauſe of your enemy, and abhor your's?—America, who muſt regard every ſucceſs you may happen to obtain, as a ſignal of alarm to her independence?—America, who muſt regard your violation of treaties, on the banks of the *Miami*, as a bone of contention

contention purpoſely preſerved, to furniſh you with a ſorry pretence, if ever you ſhould think yourſelves ſtrong enough, once more to attack her, and attempt her ſubjugation?—According to this calculation has been the event. Hence neither wheat nor any other grain has been imported ſince the laſt harveſt, except oats, and very ſmall quantities even of theſe; moſt of them from Ireland; very few, indeed, from Hamburgh.

This accounts for the riſe of 75 *per cent.* in the price of that article, which has been mentioned before. The very great ſupplies of oats, which uſed to be ſent through the ports of Holland from various parts of the continent, have entirely ceaſed.

The ſtates alſo, on both ſides of the Rhine, the Auſtrians, and the united Netherlands, have either neglected their tillage, or what little they have produced has fallen, not into the hands of Britain, but into the hands of Britain's enemy.—Your allies have left half their lands unſown; and what has been the fate of that which they have cultivated? The triumphant republican, with his ſword in one hand, and his ſickle in the other, has reaped the harveſt, and carried it into his graineries.

Let us obſerve, alſo, the conduct of our good and gracious ally the King of Pruſſia, that illuſtrious ſample of the faith of monarchies, that demonſtrative reaſoner in favour of treating only with *regular and eſtabliſhed governments.* Even when he pretended to be our friend: that is to ſay, while he ſhowed an inclination to receive our money; for he never ſhowed any inclination to do any thing elſe for us, but to lighten us a little of that of which he ſaw we had ſo much as to make us proud! —Seeing that taking a great deal of it away would bring the people to their ſenſes, he very kindly helped the Miniſter off with it. But even during the time that he was receiving this money, he abſolutely prohibited the exportation of corn to any nation whatever.

Now, whether in reality he was afraid that this corn ſhould fall into the hands of the Ftench, or whether he was afraid there would be a ſcarcity in his own country, it matters not with reſpect to my argument. Suffice it to ſay, that it being known to our wiſe Miniſter that he had forbid the exportation of corn, yet our wiſe Miniſter thought proper to pay for a quantity of that article; hoping, I ſuppoſe, to be able, by weighty arguments, to perſuade the King of Pruſſia, after he had paid for it, to let him have it. And now we may find,

perhaps,

perhaps, that the eloquence of the French Convention is more powerful in Pruſſia, than the eloquence of Britain:—that Court having been a long time ſtudying the French language, tho' I have not yet heard, that any Engliſh grammarian has been ſent for to inſtruct them in ours. One part of the Engliſh language, however, the King of Pruſſia underſtands very perfectly: that which I mean is generally written in characters of the brighteſt yellow, and which is conſidered in our ſenate, as compoſing the moſt ſolid, weighty, and perſuaſive part of eloquence. The ornamental part of rhetoric, however, he imports from another country; and to theſe, (as there are ſome reaſons to doubt the ſoundneſs of his royal capacity) he may chance to be moſt attached.

But there is a ſtill more important circumſtance to be taken into conſideration; namely the exportation to the armies. This is not eaſily calculated; becauſe I am credibly informed, that, in many inſtances, what with the ſhifting of ground, retreating from place to place—for, you know, we have been gravely told in the miniſterial papers, that, "notwithſtanding their ſucceſſes, the French have never been able to take poſſeſſion of any ground, till the Britiſh troops had firſt of all removed from it." thereby demonſtrating a well known phyſical propoſition. that two bodies cannot occupy the ſame ſpace at the ſame time.—Well then, what with the bodies of the Engliſh armies moving firſt from one ſpot and then from another, and the bodies of the French moving on to them; what with ſometimes burning the corn and ſometimes drowning it, that it might not fall into the hands of the enemy; what with its ſometimes actually falling into thoſe hands, it has been known that the orders of the Commiſſaries have ſometimes been three times executed, before the ſtores have actually arrived at the army for which they were intended. So that even the powerful genius of *Brook Watſon* has ſunk beneath the weighty duties, and ſtill more weighty profits of his office; and he is ſaid to have exclaimed in deſpair, that it was impoſſible to ſupply a flying army.

Here then is waſte for you. Here is a ſource of aggravated ſcarcity. The waſte and conſumption of a camp is always double the quantity that would provide for the ſame number of individuals in their own peaceful habitations: and the ſupport of a flying army is always three times as much as an army that is ſucceſsful would require.

But this is not all the wicked and miſchievous policy of the preſent ſyſtem: It adds wantonneſs to misfortune, and

aggravates

aggravates with wilful devaſtation the calamities of the human race. It is reported that even ſo large a quantity of hay-ſtacks as would cover a whole mile and an half of ground in the neighbourhood of Rotterdam, was ſet on fire by the retreating Engliſh and Hanoverians, becauſe it ſhould not fall into the hands of the enemy.

A precious legacy this to bequeath a people whom we had forced into a war they did not wiſh for; and whom we were incapable of defending!

Magazines of hay having been ſo deſtroyed, do you ſuppoſe that magazines of corn and beef have not been deſtroyed in the ſame way?

O feeble ſenſe of reaſon and of virtue!—O neglected ſpirit of juſtice and humanity! That any being who has capacity enough to count his fingers, or who can put down as many units upon a paper as will make ten, ſhould ever think of plunging continents into war for the gratification of their ambition, when the conſequences muſt be deſtroying, thus, by wholeſale, the means of the exiſtence of ſo many thouſands of their fellow beings, who have the ſame right to the accommodations of life with themſelves; but who, together with their families, are to be reduced to miſery and the lingering death of famine, while mad revenge, the avarice of office, and the intoxicating love of power, ſtalk with inflated inſolence over the globe, affect the nod of deity, and ſnuff the incenſe of human ſacrifices!

Citizens, the evening is far advanced. But late as it is, there is one ſubject I cannot paſs over without ſome animadverſion. I mean the conduct of the Miniſter of this country with reſpect to Poland; that country whoſe ſtruggles for dawning liberty warmed the heart of every generous Briton; that country to which every man who had one ſpark of veneration for any thing that looked like liberty in the conſtitution of this country, muſt have ſincerely wiſhed ſucceſs; that country has been beaten down; its ſpirit has been annihilated; its population thinned by maſſacres perpetrated by the *regular Government* of Ruſſia; every ſpark of liberty has been trampled out; the Hyæna of the North, and the vultures of Germany, have torn its mangled limbs; have feaſted on its gore; and have been ſupplied, by Britiſh gold, with the means of this deſtruction and inhuman partition.

This conduct will ſhew you, that it is not Jacobiniſm only, that is hateful to the preſent miniſter;—that it is not republicaniſm only that he deteſts; that he is a worſhipper of un-

qualified deſpotiſm; that he wiſhes to eſtabliſh it throughout the world; and that even the moſt temperate and moderate reformation; even the mereſt half-way attempt towards liberty and the amelioration of the condition of the human ſpecies, is ſufficient to ſet his gall afloat, and provoke him to glut his appetite for blood.

Look at the hiſtory of the attempted revolution in Poland. Were there any appearances of Jacobiniſm there? Did they ſet up for that liberty and equality which has been ſo miſrepreſented? No: if they had they would have triumphed; and *Pitt*, and the deſpots of Europe would have been diſappointed. But they were too moderate in their views to warm the ſouls of the great body of the people; too little careful of the rights of the maſs of mankind, to awake the glowing enthuſiaſm which liberty and equality inſpires. They could not unite in one effort the congregated energies of the nation: but the congregated deſpots and cabinets of Europe were united againſt them. For their deſtruction hard Britiſh gold was ſent over to the Deſpot of Pruſſia, in ſubſidies.

What uſe did he openly make of it? Did he aſſiſt the alliance againſt France? No. Did he not, in the moſt barefaced manner, apply that money to the deſtruction of Poland? and did not *Pitt* ſtill continue to ſend the money of this country to that Deſpot, even after he ſaw the uſe that he made of it? And was he not thereby enabled to hold out againſt the vigorous exertion of the Poles, till the Hyæna of the north was ready to pour her Barbarians upon them, and to repeat the *maſſacres of Iſmael* in the *ſtreets of Warſaw*.

Yes, this tiger in human ſhape, this royal ſavage, is one of the allies with whom our virtuous adminiſtration thinks a free people ought to coaleſce, for the deſtruction of republicaniſm in France, and for the reſtoration of the deſpotiſm of the Capets, and the contemptible ſuperſtition of his holineſs the pope.

But it may be ſaid, "he was deceived. He was ſo buſy "with his calculations, with his arithmetical plans and "ſchemes, that he could not attend to what was doing upon "ſuch a ſpot of the continent as Poland; that he knew nothing "of the exertions made by thoſe brave people; and but lit-"tle of the attempts made by the tyrants of Europe againſt "them." But no—he has abjured all ſuch excuſes: with that matchleſs effrontery which nothing but a *William Pitt*, backed by *Henry Dundas*, could poſſibly aſſume, he ſteps forward

forward and tells you that, " even if he could have foreſeen " the manner in which the ſubſidy paid to the King of Pruſ- " ſia would have been applied, he certainly would have " paid it."

Here then is a direct avowal of his guilt.—I wiſh not for puniſhments; I wiſh for redreſs; but if other perſons, not as philoſophical in their feelings as I wiſh to be, ſhould ever take it in their heads to redreſs the wrongs of Europe by coertion, let him take care. When the principal goes to rack, I fear he will find but little ſecurity from his plauſible harrangues. Nor will it be eaſy, perhaps, for men of honeſt and ardent hearts, that wiſh to keep the cauſe of liberty unſtained by wanton vengeance, to preſerve ſuch a culprit from the gripe of a ſevere retaliation.

Citizens, I ſhall dwell no longer upon the ſubject this evening. I have already extended this lecture to an unuſual length. I ſhall therefore adjourn till Friday evening; leaving you for the preſent with this invocation. Think, I conjure you—deeply think of all the facts that can be collected relative to this ſubject. It is a ſubject in which your own happineſs is involved; in which is, alſo, involved the happineſs of your poſterity: the children yet unborn may bleſs your patriotic activity, or reprobate your ſelfiſh ſluggiſhneſs, in proportion as you exert yourſelves to redreſs the grievances under which the nation groans. And when I invoke you to redreſs thoſe grievances, I do not invoke you to deeds of cruelty and violence. I invoke you to the energies of the mind. I invoke you to trace, to the very ſource, the cauſes of your calamities. I am convinced you will find almoſt all thoſe calamities to reſult from the total want of a repreſentation of the people in parliament. I am convinced that you will find that the corruption, the rottenneſs, the profligacy which have crept into your adminiſtrations, in conſequence of the want of this repreſentation, is the genuine ſource of your calamities; and that *there is no redreſs for a nation ſituated as we are* (to repeat thoſe treaſonable words which were to have brought the axe of the executioner upon this neck) *there is no redreſs for a nation ſituated as we are, but from a fair, full, and free repreſentation of the people in the Commons Houſe of Parliament!*

ON COMMERCE.

(FROM THE PERIPATETIC.)

COMMERCE! thou doubtful, and thou partial good!
'Tis true by thee we ſwell to Wealth and Power;
And Britain's name, and Britain's arts by thee
Are wafted to each region of the Globe,
Bringing, in rich return, their varied tributes
Of wealth and elegance, and the rare boon
To which, o'er all, we owe the power to ſoar
Above the brute, toward the god-like frame
Of heaven-pervading natures—glorious ſcience!
Man's nobleſt privilege! But then by thee—
(With grief the muſe records it) oft by thee
War, ſavage War! too, lifts his brazen voice,
To bellow hideous diſcord through the World;
To deluge guiltleſs realms with native blood,
At mad Ambition's and at Avarice' call;
'Gainſt *human woe* to ſteel the *human breaſt*, —
Inflame the rancour of compatriot ſtrife,
And preſs Oppreſſion's foot with fiercer wrath
On the bow'd neck of Miſery's fallen race.

'Tis thine, too, Commerce, thro' thy native land
To pour, wide-waſting, like a deluge, round
The poiſon'd ſtream of Luxury, rank-polluted!
The monſter breeding Nile of hideous vice,
From whoſe oft ſtagnant pools inceſſant ſpring
A loath'd miſhapen ſwarm, which Nature's eye
Turns haggard to behold.

Thou, Commerce, too, monopolizing fiend!
Fatten'ſt a few upon the toils of all;
And while thy favour'd ſons, in Parian domes,
Rival the pomp of regal ſplendour, lo!
In every town whoſe *charter'd inſolence*
Barters to Britain's ſons the Freeman's name,
If there thy throne is fix'd, what hundreds throng
Each ſad retreat of Wretchedneſs, or fill
The public ſtreets with want's afflictive plaint;
Mourning thy fickle and capricious ſway,
Whoſe endleſs changes, tho' the rich not feel,
(For Protean gold will ever find employ)
Oft robs the pale mechanic of his bread,
And dooms the penſioner of diurnal toil,
For half the year, perhaps, to idle want;
Perhaps in age to learn a new employ.

THE TRIBUNE. N°. XVII.

THE SECOND LECTURE *on the Cauſes of the preſent* DEARNESS *and* SCARCITY *of* PROVISIONS, *delivered* Friday, May 1ſt, 1795.

[Many of the occaſional reflections in this Lecture will not be underſtood, if the reader is not reminded that a known agent of the Treaſury planted himſelf in a very conſpicuous ſituation this evening, and made ſeveral attempts to interrupt the Lecturer.]

CITIZENS,

IN my Lecture of Wedneſday evening, I began with obſerving the vaſt and evident diſproportion between the increaſe of the price of proviſions and the prices of labour. I proved to you from *Hume*, or rather from a writer quoted by *Hume* as an authority, that about 230 years ago, when the common price of labour throughout the country was eight-pence per day, that many of the articles of conſumption were cheaper in a degree of twenty-two to one, than they are at this period. I afterwards proceeded to ſhew you, that, in all probability, a conſiderable degree of difference had taken place between the proportionate price of the luxuries of life and the mere neceſſaries, and that, therefore, perhaps ſome deduction ought to be made from this calculation. But I believe I gave you data ſufficient to authorize me in the concluſion, that after all allowances of this kind, it was but a very moderate calculation indeed to ſuppoſe that, in order to have kept any pace between the increaſe of the price of labour and the increaſe of the neceſſary articles of conſumption, that is to ſay, to make the condition of the laborious part of the community preciſely the ſame as it was 230 years ago, that the wages paid for labour ought to be, conſidering what the prices of proviſions now are, between five and ſix ſhillings per day. I endeavoured to ſhow you, that it was not my intention abſolutely to point out that ſuch ought to be the wages at this time, but to ſhow you this fact—that either very great injuſtice has been done to the common people, with reſpect to the prices paid for their labour, or elſe a very extravagant aug-

mentation has taken place upon the neceſſary articles of life, inconſiſtent with the quantum of ſpecie in circulation.

I might have puſhed this ſubject a little further; and when I was enquiring what ought to have been the prices of labour in order to make the comforts and conveniences of the lower orders of ſociety the ſame as they were were 230 years ago, I might, perhaps, with very great propriety, have enquired whether the condition of the lower orders of ſociety ought not, at this period, to be conſiderably better than it was at that time. For if it is admitted, ſociety has been in a rapid ſtate of progreſs, if it is true that knowledge has extended to a very conſiderable degree, that the mechanical arts have been brought to much greater perfection, that all the different employments to which men are devoted, are now performed comparatively with much greater facility (that is to ſay, a greater quantum of production may be effected with the ſame labour and in the ſame time)—if all theſe circumſtances are true, it would be, perhaps, a fair object of enquiry, whether that claſs of ſociety, to whoſe induſtry and exertions we are to attribute this improvement, ought not, at leaſt, to have had ſome ſhare in the advantages reſulting from it; and inſtead of living in a worſe ſituation than at that time, whether they ought not to be enabled to live in a ſituation much more comfortable than they then did; for I cannot ſee what ſort of juſtice there is in the great body of the people labouring eternally, if the whole advantage is to be monopolized by a few idle drones, placemen and penſioners, ſome of whom, if I were ſo inclined, I could point out in this aſſembly. I cannot perceive the juſtice or propriety of the great body of the people labouring and exerting themſelves to increaſe the accommodations of ſociety, if the whole benefit is to be ſeized by a few ariſtocratic oppreſſors, who are ſending their ſpies and emiſſaries into every corner to catch up every word that may drop from a friend of Liberty.—Let me obſerve, however, that I am glad they do ſend ſuch perſons here, becauſe they may chance to hear ſome truths that will incline them to be active and uſeful converts, eſpecially if the audience treat ſuch perſons with the candour they are entitled to: for men ought not to be cenſured on account of the ſituation in which they are placed. They have frequently been the choice of unexperienced youth, frequently the choice of their parents, and frequently have been adopted from accidents in life over which they could have no command. I do not, therefore, make this obſervation to ſtimulate ungentle

feelings

feelings in your hearts; thoſe perſons who frequently attend theſe Lectures will bear witneſs, that I have always been anxious to prevent any intemperance even towards the emiſſaries of thoſe who have abſolutely entered into conſpiracies, firſt to knock out my brains by hired bludgeon-men, afterwards to kidnap, and ſend me, perhaps, as Lady Grange was ſent, into the diſtant ſolitary iſlands of Scotland, and laſtly, to carve me alive into four quarters, and ſtick my head upon a pole.

Purſuing, Citizens, the chain of reaſoning from which I have been led into this digreſſion by the illiberal interuptions of this man, I ſay, that, perhaps, I might have been entitled to argue, that while the nobleman rides in a carriage twice as ſuperb, while he lives in an apartment twice as ſplendid and convenient, the poor peaſant has a right to expect, that he ſhould live in a cottage twice as commodious, and wear twice as comfortable a cloathing for himſelf and family. [TREASURY RUNNER, *interrupting*—"And ſo he has."]

I ſhall ſhow the *honourable Gentleman* who has made that reply whether it is ſo or not, by and by. I will ſtate, not aſſertions, but facts. If Gentlemen will make obſervations it muſt ſpring from their ignorance—however, ignorance is no improper qualification for a tool of Government. I will ſtate the facts, I will tell that Gentleman, that I have read hiſtory, and that from the facts contained in the records of times paſt, and known ſtate of the induſtrious orders of ſociety, it can be proved that their ſituation is *three times as miſerable, inſtead of being twice as comfortable as it was.*

I ſhall not, however, occupy your time by replying to the ſignificant nods and monoſyllables of one individual. It is my buſineſs to inveſtigate this ſubject; and I ſhall inveſtigate it upon general principles, in defiance of all the idle vermin in office, which our pockets are ſo inceſſantly picked to maintain,

I was going to add, that I might have argued, that if the liveries of a Prince are to be increaſed from fifty to one hundred guineas per ſuit, that the poor ought to have the opportunity of putting upon the legs and feet of their children twice as good ſtockings and ſhoes as they did before. Citizens, I next examined the riſe of proviſions and the increaſe of the prices of labour, within the laſt twenty or twenty-five years; and as theſe are facts, of which a larger proportion of thoſe who heard me could judge, I think it a little curious,

that

that an individual who has apparently lived thirty or forty years in the world, ſhould attempt to contradict the concluſion from them.—For as every article of proviſion has more than conſiderably doubled in its price, and as the wages of labouring men have not increaſed one fourth part, I ſhould like very much to know, from ſome curious calculator, from ſome of the ſcholars into whom Mr. Pitt has flogged his arithmetic, how, with ſo ſmall an increaſe of wages, at the time when ſo great an increaſe has taken place in the price of the neceſſaries of life, a man can get twice the comfort and accommodation now for fourteen or fifteen pence, that he uſed to get for a ſhilling before.

But, Citizens, when I am ſpeaking of the increaſe, ſuch as it is, of the prices of labour, I ought to animadvert upon the ſpecial care which the laws of this country, from a laudable deſire to preſerve the peace and harmony of ſociety, have taken to place the lower orders entirely in a ſtate of dependance upon thoſe who employ them; the conſequence of which is, that when any general national hardſhip takes place, by means of which the prices of the articles of life are always increaſed, but by means of which, at the ſame time, a quantum of labour becomes leſs, the maſter takes a convenient and ſnug opportunity to ſcotch, as they call it, the wages of the journeymen.

Many of you, I dare ſay, have read, and I hope ſuch of you as have not will take an opportunity of reading, the excellent pamphlet of Citizen *Frend*, for which that admirable advocate for the cauſe of Liberty was ſo ſcandalouſly expelled the univerſity of which he was ſo illuſtrious a member. You will remember that, in that pamphlet, he takes notice of a very affecting circumſtance of this kind: Juſt after the war had been declared, Citizen *Frend* (for I believe he will be better pleaſed to be called Citizen than Reverend and Mr.) happened to follow ſome poor women, who had been to a market-town to take home their work; and who, as they walked along, rung in the ears of each other the doleful and angry complaint, "We are ſcotched 4*d.* in a ſhilling, on ac-"count of this war."—I repeat not the words, but the ſubſtance.—"O!" ſays *Frend*, "that the voice of truth and "humanity might penetrate the walls of cabinets; and that I "might reſound in the ears of Miniſters and Princes—The "labouring poor are ſcotched 4*d.* in a ſhilling, to maintain "your ambitious projects and deſtructive wars, without com-"mon ſenſe, common virtue, or principle of juſtice?"

Citizens,

Citizens, I have had ſome opportunities, alſo, of obſerving the dependent ſituation of theſe lower orders of ſociety. Some years ago, before my mind had taken that ſtrong bias in favour of political purſuits, to which it is now attached, going into the native country of my parents, I took the opportunity—being generally deſirous to ſee as much as I could, and, not like thoſe poor wretches condemned to the ignorant confines of the office of a Secretary of State, to know no difference between truth and falſehood, right and wrong, but what was taught me by the lying documents of ſpies and their employers, which it is the duty of thoſe poor ignorant beings to copy—my employment not being of that deſcription, I took the opportunity of ſeeing, as far as I could, the condition of thoſe orders of ſociety, about whoſe happineſs in the country I had heard ſo many romantic ſtories, while I was an inhabitant of the town, and took my ideas of rural felicity from novels and paſtorals. I beheld there poor women, doubled with age, toiling, from morning to night, over their wheels, ſpinning their flax and hemp; and I found that their condition was ſo miſerable, that many of them were poſitively obliged to take their work once or twice a day home to the perſons who employed them, in order to get the ſcanty pittance that was to purchaſe the meal by which they were to ſuſtain their emaciated frames. [*Vide* PERIPATETIC, vol. I. p. 143.]

I was aſtoniſhed, I own, at this picture of miſery. I had read a good deal in poems and romances about rural felicity. I did not know that rural felicity conſiſted in ſitting over a wheel till one is double, and getting neither comforts nor conveniencies—no, nor the neceſſaries of life, to ſuſtain and prop one's declining years, by this eternal drudgery.

This made, I own, a deep impreſſion on my mind; which, though it did not operate immediately, ſtimulated me to a train of enquiry, which could not fail of its ultimate effect.—I had hitherto been a high government man, a ſupporter of prerogatives, and an advocate for venerating the powers that be.—O! that ſome way could but be invented to keep mankind (all but the choſen few) in utter ignorance! Then might placemen, penſioners, and the uſurping proprietors of rotten boroughs, enjoy, indeed, a golden age, and the *ſwiniſh multitude* (driven as their *ſwineherds* liſt, and ſlaughtered at their will) ſhould grunt forth ſedition no more!—But it will not be. Enquiry will ſome how or other be awakened; and, when it is awakened, the miſts of deluſion melt before the riſing

riſing ſun of truth, and the midnight hags of deſpotiſm bind us in their ſpells no more.

I ſoon found myſelf compelled to acknowledge that, where ſuch was the condition of ſo large a portion of ſociety, all could not be right—that "there was ſomething rotten in the "ſtate of Denmark;" and every fact which, in the progreſs of inveſtigation, came under my obſervation, tended to confirm the opinion.

Among other abuſes, I ſoon found that one of the cauſes of this calamitous ſituation was the unfeeling manner in which theſe poor beings were left to the arbitrary diſcretion of their employers, who took the liberty, when theſe poor creatures took home their work, to ſcotch them as they thought fit; ſo that, under various pretences, for every pound that was ſpun by the poor individual, ſhe never got paid for above three quarters, when it came to be eſtimated by the maſters and employers. So much was to be conſidered as waſte, ſo many deductions were to be made; and the poor individuals, where they are not numerous enough to aſſociate, have no appeal—none at leaſt that they have any hopes from; for you know but little of Juſtices of the Peace, if you believe a country magiſtrate will liſten to the complaints of a poor friendleſs being, againſt the tradeſman who has arrived at opulence by his oppreſſion.

Thus then we find, if we regard the facts which hiſtory furniſhes, that the inevitable conſequence muſt be, from the increaſed price of the articles conſumed, and the want of a proportionate increaſe in the wages paid to the induſtrious poor, that within twenty-five years the condition of the latter has been ſo reduced, that they cannot obtain half the neceſſaries of life they formerly uſed to obtain; while their opulent oppreſſors, the placemen, penſioners, and contractors of the day, enjoy more than twice the luxuries and extravagance with which they formerly debaſed their nature.

I have ſtated to you, alſo, that oats and barley, which, in many parts of the country, be it remembered, are uſed as ſubſtitutes for wheat, have ſtill more extravagantly increaſed; and that oats, in particular, have increaſed 75 *per cent.* ſince the year 1790.

Perhaps the *honourable Clerks of the Treaſury* will not be inclined to contradict this. They will have had ſome opportunity of knowing the truth of it.—But, Citizens, ſince I met you before, I have had an opportunity of getting poſſeſſion of ſome other facts, relative to this very important part of the queſtion.

queſtion. I find, from a perſon who has been many years in a very conſiderable way of dealing in thoſe articles, that twenty-ſeven or twenty-eight years ago, the common price of oats, in the retail market, was from 9s. to 10s. 6d. per quarter; that, till within theſe twelve years, 12s. was the common price, and that they were never higher than 14s.—But now, what is the price of them? Thirty-five ſhillings! an increaſe nearly four-fold, in ſo ſmall a diſtance of time, as that which I have ſtated to you.

Now, remember what a very important article of conſumption theſe are for the labouring poor in certain parts of the country. Remember, that throughout the whole of the country parts of Scotland, wheat is a luxury which the poor man never taſtes; that oats, that barley, field peas, and other pulſe of this deſcription, conſtitute the whole ſuſtenance of large proportions of the people there: and I could inſtance a poor being, of the name of Crawford, who emigrated to America on account of his miſerable ſituation, and who has now, merely from the profits of his own manual labour, been able to take a little farm of his own, and to become a maſter Farmer, in his turn; but whoſe ſole ſuſtenance, for himſelf and family, while he reſided in Scotland, was one meal a day of meagre potatoes; and that, in the horrors and exceſſes of their hunger, they gnawed the peelings and fragments for their ſupper, having no other ſort of ſuſtenance whatever to keep themſelves from abſolute ſtarvation.

Now, Citizens, in parts of the country where this was the caſe, conſider what muſt be the monſtrous accumulation of their grievances, and the miſerable ſituation of the poor, when ſuch an accumulation has taken place upon the price of that article in particular (oats) which conſtitutes the moſt ſtrong, the moſt wholeſome, and the moſt important part of their ſubſiſtence.

So much for the increaſed comfort, the double accommodation, the twice as good apartments, and the twice as good raiment and food, which the common people in Scotland maintain at this time.

Such being a ſmall, very ſmall part, indeed, of thoſe monſtrous facts which ſhow the bleſſings of a ſyſtem of rotten boroughs, and the corruptions of faction, I think myſelf called upon, as a good Citizen (that diſtinction, beyond all others, which men ought to be moſt emulous to deſerve) to ſtand forward and inveſtigate, as far as I am able, the cauſes of the miſchief under which the people groan. Yes, groan, I ſay;

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for many a poor, meagre, emaciated, depreſſed, and heart-broken wretch, in this country pays, with groans and ſlavery, for the pampered luxury of thoſe, who, becauſe they wallow in the wealth of which they have plundered the nation, think they have a right to ſtop the mouths of the poor, and the advocates of the poor with the gag of perſecution; and, if they cannot effect that, think it right to employ their pimps and perjurers, "Old-Bailey ſolicitors and the ſweepings of "the ſtews," to diſturb their inveſtigations, miſrepreſent their ſentiments, and deprive them of their lives.

Citizens, there is another reaſon why I am deſirons of inveſtigating this ſubject, and it is this:—That the inveſtigation of ſuch ſubjects has a tendency to prevent tumult, inſurrection and confuſion. How deſirous ſome men, who call themſelves friends of Government and the Conſtitution, are to excite ſuch tumults, we may learn from this fact—that whenever they believe a number of perſons are aſſembled, to enter into peaceable enquiry, they ſend ſome one or other of their agents to prevent that enquiry, and diſturb the peace. Thus, the very night that I had the honor to be arreſted, in this place, upon the ridiculous trump'd-up charge of High Treaſon, Mr. *Walſh*, the Treaſury ſpy, abſolutely told me, that he took, to the meeting at the King's Arms tavern, the great over-grown athletic Iriſhman, that created the riot and confuſion there, and gave the Lord-Mayor a pretence for preventing in future the meetings of that peaceable aſſembly.

Citizens! Citizens! we know, and our enemies know—and their conduct ſhews that they know it—that if men will enquire, with impartiality and temper, into the cauſes of theſe calamities, they will have no occaſion for turbulence; they will find that the individuals, againſt whom they are inclined to direct their fury, are generally as innocent and oppreſſed as themſelves; and that it is not the *miller*, againſt whoſe machine they direct their fury—it is not the *butcher*, whoſe commodity they ſeize—it is not the *baker*, whoſe ſhop they break open and rifle,—that theſe are not the men who are the cauſes of the calamities under which they groan; that the real cauſes are of much too weighty a nature to be removed by turbulence. They are ſo ſerious, ſo fortified, ſo deeply rooted, that they can only be removed by the unanimous ſpirit of enquiry diffuſing itſelf through the country, and awakening to unanimous effort, by a ſpirited, firm, and determined (but at the ſame time peaceable) diſpoſition, to repreſent their grievances to each other, in the firſt inſtance, and then with

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one congregated voice to that government, which, however it may pretend to make it high treaſon to overawe any branch of it, will never fail to reſpect and reverence, as it ought, the ſentiments and opinions of the people, whenever, in a firm and unanimous manner, they are thundered in their ears. It was from this conviction that I undertook the preſent enquiry, and you will remember that on the laſt evening I traced ſome of the cauſes of the evil. I endeavoured to ſhew you that the evil reſulted from impolitic regulations and exceſſive exactions. I endeavoured to ſhew you, in part, what I conceived to be the bearing of this queſtion upon the ſubject of the preſent war; and I traced, among other circumſtances, the great increaſe of burthens which lays upon many commodities; the increaſed expence of thoſe tranſactions, in which they muſt neceſſarily be engaged, before they can bring their commodities to market, and I ſhewed you, that theſe were, in many caſes, increaſed threefold, from the drawing off of ſo large a number of ſailors and uſeful labourers for the war, from the ſuperior vigour and activity of the marine of the French republic, which while it has left to England the empty honour of gaining victories in general engagements, and boaſting of the barren ſovereignty of the ocean, has never failed to ſweep our commerce into republican ports, which it was the duty of the admiſtration of this country (if they had underſtood their duty) to have protected.

I noticed, alſo, as another cauſe, the embargo which has been laid upon all, and ſtill continues upon a large portion, of our moſt eſſential merchandiſe; it is true from one or two articles it has been taken off, but the evil was done, and the effects continue to be felt. I ſtated that the tillage of both ſides the Rhine, from which we uſed to be ſupplied with various ſorts of grain, &c. had been neglected and deſtroyed; —that this evil had been aggravated by the prohibition of exportation from the country of our good ally of Pruſſia; and alſo the very conſiderable miſchief which had reſulted to this country, from the large exportations that have been made of all the neceſſary articles of conſumption to the armies on the continent, which on account of the calamitous and diſgraceful circumſtances, in common with other machinations of our bleſſed and immaculate miniſter, have been ſent three times before they reached the army for which they were intended; having fallen into the hands of the enemy, or been deſtroyed, ſunk in the waters, or conſumed in flames, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy;

and I noticed a particular circumſtance, of a whole mile and an half of hay ſtacks, in the neighbourhood of Rotterdam, being ſet on fire, in order to prevent them falling into the hands of the enemy.

Now, Citizens, thoſe perſons who have been uſed to hear the arithmetic of Pitt will not, I ſuppoſe, readily agree with the concluſion I ſhall draw from theſe facts: namely, that *it would have been better for this country*, that this hay and theſe proviſions ſhould have fallen into the hands of the enemy, than that they ſhould have been thus deſtroyed.

I mean in general, Citizens, to draw my arguments in this Tribune, not from partial intereſt and *political expediences*, but from broad and univerſal principles; to conſider univerſal juſtice and humanity the deep root and ſolid trunk from which my arguments are to ſprout and my concluſions grow; and to teach you that theſe, and theſe alone, are the proper objects of your veneration. But when I ſpeak of the meaſures and maxims of miniſters it is impoſſible to talk of general principles, of philanthropy, and humanity. They have abjured all principle both by word and deed. It is a ſort of watch-word of alarm, which they never uſe but to couple it with the indefinable ſtigma of Jacobiniſm, when they want to hunt the perſecuted patriot to *Botany Bay* or *the Scaffold*. I muſt meet them therefore upon the ground of expediency; and it is the fate of theſe muddy-headed oppreſſors, that chuſe what ground they will, they muſt be beaten.

You will pleaſe then to remember, that every conſiderable deſtruction of the neceſſaries of life has a tendency to produce not only a ſcarcity in the individual country in which the devaſtation is committed, but mediately in the general ſtock of the univerſe—that is to ſay, in the aggregate ſtock of the whole of the productive countries from whence theſe reſources ſpring. All the world ſuffers, in ſome degree, in point of real wealth (the wealth that conſiſts in the quantum of real neceſſaries and comforts) and, to a very conſiderable degree, when the devaſtation is ſo monſtrous as that which has been committed by this fooliſh, revengeful, malicious diſpoſition—the ſyſtem of mad havock and extermination upon which the preſent war is conducted.

Now let us attend a little while to a conſideration of what is the fair and honeſt ſyſtem of commerce: not ſuch a ſyſtem of commerce as placemen and penſioners are deſirous of promoting. Remember that the fair ſyſtem of commerce is this—that whatever one country produces more than neceſſary for the

conſumption of that country, it ſends to another country that is in want of that article, in order that it may bring back ſome other article of neceſſity, or luxury, of which it ſtands in need.

This is the fair, the juſt, and rational ſyſtem of commerce. And, with reſpect to *articles of the firſt neceſſity*, this is the ſyſtem upon which commerce muſt inevitably be conducted. Suppoſe, then, as is the fact, that the whole produce of thoſe parts of the world that have any commercial intercourſe together, taking all the different articles, is pretty nearly in proportion to the whole of the neceſſities and conſumption of all thoſe countries. This I ſay is nearly the fact; and muſt be ſo: for I take it for granted, that man does not toil for the mere pleaſure of toiling. He toils to produce as much as he can find a good market for; and is never diſpoſed to produce more than he can conſume himſelf, and turn to his advantage, by diſpoſing of it to others. It will therefore follow that the quantity requiſite to ſupply the demands of the civilized world, will bear a pretty general proportion to the quantity actually produced, when the whole of that produce comes (as by means of commerce it cannot fail, in effect, to come) to a general market. Now the ſyſtem of commerce being, thus, a general mart for the univerſe, it follows of courſe that, with reſpect to my argument, it matters not whether theſe productive countries, having intercourſe together, be three or three thouſand. I will take therefore the ſmalleſt number, for the ſake of ſimplicity and convenience. I will ſuppoſe that two countries are at war together, and that there is a third country which is in poſſeſſion of abundance of neceſſary articles, grain for example, which it is the nature of war to render ſcarce, and of which, in conſequence, the other two hoſtile countries will be in a conſiderable degree of want. Now what will this third country do? You may make as many treaties as you chooſe, to bind the merchants and government of the pacific nation; for treaties are not even packthread—they are nothing but rotten paper, or parchment at beſt; more feeble than Falſtaff's men in buckram, which he knocked down by the half dozen at a time; they ſtand for nothing at all when the parties have the power of breaking them.—If you wiſh for a comment upon this text I refer you to the works of the preſent King of Pruſſia. Well, Citizens, the country that has corn to ſpare will ſend it to the beſt market, and if there are two markets in want of the commodity,

will find its intereſt, and will follow its intereſt, in ſending part of its ſurplus to one and part to the other.

Suppoſe England then, that England were, at this time, the only country that felt this ſcarcity, the whole ſuperfluity of other countries would, of courſe, find its beſt market here; or if the ſcarcity be greater here than in France, the conſequence muſt be that thoſe who have, would bring it to the Engliſh market, becauſe there it would fetch the beſt price. But ſuppoſe you have produced a ſcarcity and famine in both countries, reflect, only for one moment, what muſt be the conſequence? Will the country that has abundance of corn bring the whole of it into the Engliſh market, by which means the price would be ſmaller than if they had ſent only half of that commodity to England, and the remainder to the market of France?

Now, I aſk you, Citizens, if this is not a clear and plain demonſtration that the common ſcarcity, produced by the profligate and abandoned ſyſtem of burning, drowning, and deſtroying the articles of human ſuſtenance, is an aggravation, inſtead of a mitigation of your misfortunes? and that you are in reality by theſe means in a worſe ſituation than if the proviſions deſtroyed had fallen into the hands of the enemy? Mr. Pitt and his coadjutors would have ſophiſtry enough I make no doubt to anſwer all this, in their own way, and to carry the queſtion againſt me *in the Houſe of Commons*: but I put it to you as plain men, underſtanding a plain queſtion—Men whoſe calculations are not merely confined to multiplication and ſubſtraction;—underſtanding alſo that there is ſuch a thing as political, as well as numerical, arithmetic—calculations of the deſires, wants and propenſities of men, as well as treaties, compacts, plans, and cabinet projections—taking theſe things into conſideration, (of which *Pitt*, I believe, is as ignorant as the hobby horſe that he rode upon when a boy at ſchool)—I aſk you whether, in defiance of all the treaties you can make, if you produce a general ſcarcity, you do not produce a much worſe effect upon your own population and country, than if you had produced that ſcarcity in your own country only, and ſuffer that produce (which you ſo ridiculouſly deſtroy) to fall into the hands of the enemy?

Thus you ſee that the generous, humane, and benevolent ſyſtem of policy, is the beſt policy, at laſt, for the country that adopts it, as well as for others to whom it may be extended?

Citizens,

Citizens, there is another circumſtance of a very curious nature, and almoſt as diſgraceful as it is curious, which it is neceſſary for me to dwell upon. But diſgraceful circumſtances will never put the preſent adminiſtration to the bluſh; and ſo I need not have any tenderneſs for them on the occaſion. I mean the conduct of the cabinet of this country with reſpect to neutral veſſels.

There was a time when Britons had an open, manly and courageous ſpirit. There was a time when Britons had a ſenſe of honor, and a feeling of benevolence; when they would have diſdained to ſet the example of violating all the admitted laws of neutrality between nation and nation. There was a time, when the people of this country knew that neutral veſſels were ſacred, whatever war might exiſt between two contending countries. But this, Citizens, was a time when Britons diſdained all weapons but thoſe of open and manly exertion. This was a time when the deteſtable policy was not underſtood, nor could ever have been ſuggeſted, of attempting to ſtarve twenty-four millions of brave and virtuous men, becauſe they were ſtruggling for their emancipation from unheard of deſpotiſm.

Yes, Citizens, there was a time when this country, upon the very eve of a war with France, freely permitted to go to that country large quantities and ſupplies of corn, becauſe it was known that the rival country was in want of ſuch aſſiſtance. I believe it is well authenticated that *George the ſecond*, for George the *ſecond* was a gentleman!—I ſay it is well authenticated, there was a time when George the ſecond, actually engaged in a war with France, yet ſuffered a ſupply of wheat to be ſent into that country, to prevent the people from periſhing with famine.

This was glorious and magnificent conduct, worthy of a Briton! and if I had any nationality about me, it would prompt me to regret that the man who did this act was not born in the country which gave me birth.

There was alſo a time when the laws of nations were reſpected;—there was alſo a time when the brave and hardy Briton met his enemy face to face in the field—I mean not to ſtand up here as a panegyriſt of ſlaughter, I hate maſſacre and murder however diſguiſed: yet, comparing the two periods, and the two lines of conduct, I cannot but admire the man who prefers to ſtand openly forward in the field of combat, to the man who wiſhes by artificial famine to rid the world of enemies he dare not meet, becauſe he knows his degeneracy

degeneracy of mind has ſunk him below the gigantic powers of thoſe who are ſtruggling for freedom and juſtice. There is a chance that the man who meets his enemy openly in the field ſuppoſes he is right, deteſtable as the acts of murder muſt always be by which ſuch enmity muſt be ſupported. But the wretch who attempts to ſtarve, to poiſon, or aſſaſſinate, who hires perjured ſpies and tumultuous aſſaſſins to breed confuſion in a neighbouring country, that he may charge that confuſion upon thoſe whom he has baſely and inſolently injured; ſuch a man, by his deteſtable arts, and ſneaking tricks, proves that he knows himſelf to be a juggler, and that his cauſe is as rotten as his heart is hollow.

Well, Citizens, while the generous ſpirit of freedom ſtill remained, Britain reſpected the laws of nations: and neutral veſſels went free. What has been the conduct during the preſent war? I ſhall not recapitulate the circumſtances which I ſtated the other evening, relative to dragooning one nation and another into this mad war with the French Republic: I ſhall confine myſelf to the capture of the veſſels of thoſe nations which in defiance of the juggling and bullying cabinet of this country, have continued their neutrality. And here even the Treaſury runners will not have the face to contradict me. They know the facts. They are a little more in their way. There can be no doubt, when a man begs pardon, whether he has committed the offence. And *Pitt* it is notorious has done ſo more than once.

He ſeized every neutral veſſel; and brought them into the ports of this country—What has been the conſequence? Whether by miſmanagement or what not, even the corn ſeized in the firſt inſtance proved good for little upon the hands of the ſeizers. But the neutral countries began to ſee this juggling; and they began to juggle in return. They put all their rotten corn on board proper veſſels, and threw them in the way of the ſhips of England, that they might be ſeized: knowing very well what ſort of ſhallow-pated bullies they had to deal with, and that, ſooner or later, they ſhould have full indemnity for them.

Well, the ſhips were captured in due time; and what did they do with them? Why they ſent this bleſſed harveſt, which they had thus reaped by their ſyſtem of piracy, into the granaries and ſtorehouſes in this place, and that place, and the other place; and you may know ſome of it by the ſmell, if you go along bank ſide in the Borough at this time. But do not miſtake it for dunghills, or night carts, I pray you. It

is

is the corn your governors intended you ſhould eat. For they ſent all the good corn out of the country, as faſt as they could, to ſupply their good allies; and behold when they came to open their magazines, (having been obliged already to pay down a good price for the commodity, and make ſneaking apologies, as bullies uſually do, to the neutral nations they had inſulted) they found precious ſtocks of ſtuff, the greateſt part of which was obliged to be ſold to the real ſwiniſh multitude: not to the *two legged ſwine*, but the real ſwiniſh multitude, who run on all fours: many of whom even had the ſeditious and treaſonable preſumption to toſs up their ſnouts and refuſe the miniſterial banquet that was offered to them.

Citizens, the evil conſequences of this war, and the ſyſtem upon which it has been conducted, have not ſtopped here. We muſt take into conſideration the injury which has been done to our own agriculture, at home; the loſs of thoſe hands by which the agriculture ought to have been promoted, by diſtreſs and miſery, by emigration to America, by manning our armies, and by the laudable and excellent ſcience of kidnapping. The individual whoſe plough ſhould have furrowed the earth, and produced the ſmile of plenty, has been ſent with his ſword to gore the breaſts of the friends of the human race, and ſpread devaſtation and miſery throughout Europe.

If this has not produced an abſolute decline of the cultivation of our farms, it has at leaſt operated to prevent the improvement and continued increaſe of production, which the improved ſtate of ſociety would otherwiſe have inſured. We are to recollect, that when war ſounds his ſoul-chilling trumpet, when the ſhrill blaſt of revenge and carnage is ſounding from one end of a country to another, all other concerns ſtagnate; commerce droops, the arts expire, ſcience languiſhes, and agricultural improvement is no more: and they muſt be miſerably ignorant indeed of the condition and ſtate of this country, who do not know that there is room enough for improvement with reſpect to agriculture among us. I ſhall give you upon this head the beſt ſort of authority to argue from upon ſuch an occaſion: ariſtocratic authority. I find by the "Report of the Committee appointed by the "Board of Agriculture, to take into conſideration the ſtate "of waſte lands and common fields in this kingdom," that the whole ſoil of Britain is ſuppoſed to conſiſt of about 49,436,160 acres. Now let us conſider what is the quantity of this that is cultivated, and what the quantity that is waſte.

We

We are informed that the waſte lands in this kingdom amount to 6,259,472 acres; we are informed that the waſte lands in Wales amount to 1,629,307 acres; and we find that the waſte lands in Scotland amount to 14,218,222 acres; the whole together amounting to 22,107,001 acres, uncultivated; while the whole cultivated land is only 27,329,159 acres. So that there is almoſt half of this happy, this glorious, this wiſely governed and flouriſhing country lies waſte and uncultivated, under the influence and auſpices of ſo bleſſed a conſtitution and ſo bleſſed an adminiſtration as we have the happineſs to boaſt. Almoſt one half of one of the fineſt countries in the world lying poſitively uncultivated, and producing no one advantage hardly to man or beaſt! Theſe are facts I ſtate not from the viſionary conceptions of my own brain; not from the ravings of democrats; not from the inſidious inventions of Jacobins, but from the agents of government themſelves, from committees appointed by their own Board of Agriculture.

Let us conſider then, in the language of their own report, "what a difference would it make in the ſtate and proſperity "of this iſland, were only one half of theſe extenſive waſtes "to wave with luxuriant crops of grain—be covered with "innumerable herds and flocks, or cloathed with ſtately "timber!"

It has been objected that a large part of this waſte land could not be cultivated. This objection alſo the Committee of the Board of Agriculture has been kind enough to remove. For it ſtates that the lands incapable of all improvement are only one million of acres; that the lands fit to be planted are three millions of acres; that the lands fit for arable and paſture are fourteen millions; lands fit for tillage three millions; and lands capable of being converted into meadow, or water meadow, one million. So that we have eighteen millions of acres in this country, now uncultivated, which are capable of being applied to the moſt important uſes: thoſe uſes directly connected wth the ſubſiſtence and comfort of the inhabitants—We have three millions fit for timber, and which therefore would be uſeful, in a ſecondary degree, to the maintenance of the life and comfort of man; and only one million abſolutely ſterile; and even this one million might, perhaps, be covered with flocks of goats, which, though they yield no fleece, to increaſe the commerce of the country, yet afford a wholeſome food, by their milk, and their fleſh, while young, which would be better than for ſo many inhabitants of the country

to

to be in want of all wholeſome and neceſſary comfort, as they are at this time. Now, Citizens, we are told from this ſame author, that thoſe lands might annually produce as much proviſions as would be worth 19,500,000 pounds per year; and that they would produce wood for building, firing, &c. and other uſes, as much as would be worth ſeveral millions more.

Conſider then, for a minute, what bleſſings a wiſe and peaceful adminiſtration of this country might have ſecured; by applying our reſources to improvement and cultivation; and reflect what curſes they have procured by the mad havock and confuſion into which they have plunged us, and the reſt of Europe.

Let us conſider, Citizens, how many deſerts might have been made to ſmile in fertility, by a proper application of our reſources; for though it has been ſaid, and I am much inclined to agree with it, that the incloſures which have taken place in this country, have been a great calamity; yet I am ſure of this, that incloſure, upon a fair and honeſt principle, might be productive of the greateſt advantages. For you are to remember that, in conſequence of incloſure, you may have a greater height of cultivation, you may have a greater quantity of cattle, and other neceſſaries of life, produced; that your wool is leſs injured and of a ſuperior quality, and therefore more advantageous to the producer, and better for the conſumer. But incloſures ought not to be conducted upon the principle that has been uſual among us. The rich man ought not to have an act of parliament to rob the poor freeholder of his eſtate. I ſay the poor freeholder: for I challenge the greateſt caſuiſt of the law to produce me a better title, by which the firſt nobleman in the land holds his eſtate, than I will produce in favour of the eſtate which the poor man has in that right of commonage, which may have been bequeathed, or made over to him, by the nobles and great landed proprietors of former generations.

Citizens, our nobles had once ſome nobility. I wiſh not to recall to your admiration the ages of feudal barbariſm; but I wiſh not to have the chains of feudal barbariſm without any of the advantages of feudal munificence. I remember, from the pages I have turned over, accounts of the manner in which our great nobility enjoyed their revenues in former times: the hundreds and thouſands of individuals ſupported by their bounty; their open halls of hoſpitality; the recreations, ſports and paſtimes with which they enlivened the

people, at particular periods; the bounty which they diſplayed towards them. But in theſe times they had not learned to conſider it as their beſt grandeur to loll themſelves into apoplectick diſeaſes, in a ſtupid gilded coach; they thought, on the contrary, that the ſplendour and greatneſs of their nobility and fortune was beſt diſplayed by having their tenants around them, enjoying the comforts and relaxations of life, about them, at their expence. However, in other circumſtances, they might be inclined to oppreſs thoſe individuals, they had ſome degree of liberality, at leaſt, in their conduct towards them, in theſe reſpects.

Among the moſt conſpicuous of them, in point of this endowment, was *John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter:* for Dukes, even royal Dukes, were not always made of ſuch ſtuff as they are made of in the preſent day! Among the foremoſt of thoſe Dukes, whoſe liberality kept ſome pace with their poſſeſſions, was *John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter*, who bequeathed a great quantity of land to the poor inhabitants, in particular ſituations, to be held by them, and all future inhabitants of ſuch diſtricts, for ever.

Now I ſhould like to know of thoſe gentlemen who cry out about *Republicans and levellers of property*, and all this ſtuff and nonſenſe, which originated in their own diſtempered brains: I would aſk which of them holds their eſtates upon a better tenure? But the greateſt plunderer and oppreſſor always cries ſtop thief firſt; becauſe he is deſirous of creating that confuſion which will prevent his own villainous practices from being detected.

What then is the ſyſtem upon which incloſures are now carried on? and what ought it to be?

With reſpect to agriculture, two objects ought always to be kept in view: namely to produce the largeſt quantity of the neceſſaries of life that the country can produce; and to promote the moſt equal diſtribution of thoſe articles of comfort which can peaceably and juſtly be effected. This is my ſyſtem of equality and juſtice. This is my idea of the firſt and genuine principles of juſt government, with reſpect to agriculture—to produce the largeſt quantity of the neceſſaries of life, and to promote the moſt equal diſtribution of thoſe articles. A little obſervation will ſhew us that the laſt of theſe, the moſt important, has never been attended to at all; and that the firſt has been attended to in a very imperfect manner: witneſs the waſte lands I have juſt ſtated to you.

Citizens,

Citizens, the fact is, that there is a third object, which, though it ought to be no object at all, is the only object with governments in general; namely, REVENUE! becauſe without revenue, that is to ſay without taxation, the expences and extravagances of miniſters and their favourites cannot be ſupported; pimps and paraſites cannot ſwell to power and grandeur; numerous trains of ſpies, informers, and aſſaſſins, cannot be ſupported; and, in ſhort, the whole ſyſtem of that grandeur, luxury, extravagance and folly, which conſtitute what miniſters call the grandeur and proſperity of the nation, muſt tumble into ruin if this revenue were not to be kept in the moſt flouriſhing and proſperous condition. In order to ſupport this revenue, it has been neceſſary to oppreſs, in a great degree, the agriculture of the country: for as *Soame Jenyns*, (who though an ariſtocrat, could ſometimes find out the truth) obſerved, the commerce of this country may be conſidered as a hog—You ſee he thought the rich merchants the ſwiniſh multitude!—The commerce of this country may be conſidered as a hog: if you touch but one briſtle upon its back, it immediately begins to make ſuch a grunting, that it throws the whole ſty into confuſion; and the country is diſtracted with its clamour; while agriculture, like a poor ſheep, is led up ſilently every year, to yield its fleeces to the ſhearer, without uttering an individual murmur.

Now, Citizens, ſuch being the pacific diſpoſition of agriculture, or the individuals who are employed in agriculture; and ſuch being the turbulent diſpoſition of our rich ariſtocratic merchants, it is eaſy to ſee that miniſters will have as large a portion as they can, out of the labour and ſweat of the induſtrious poor.

But let us now conſider how incloſures are at preſent carried on. A bill is brought into Parliament, that virtuous and immaculate aſſembly, concerning which I always want words to ſpeak with becoming reverence!—A bill is brought into parliament, by a rich proprietor, who has got a large eſtate, by the ſide of a common; and thinks that common would be a very good addition to this eſtate, and is, therefore, deſirous that this common ſhould be incloſed for his benefit and advantage. Well what is the mode of proceeding? A time is appointed, and ſometimes no time at all, for you will remember, that, ſome years ago, a Mr. William Tooke, had an eſtate in the nighbourhood of a brother of the Lord Chief Juſtice De Grey, which Chief Juſtice was a very uſe-

ful friend to Lord North. And this relation of the Chief Juſtice had a mind to incloſe Mr. Wm. Tooke's eſtate, for his benefit and advantage. A bill was brought into Parliament. It was introduced, read, and re-read on the ſame day, and committed to be read the third day, and paſſed the day following. How was this prevented? Why John Horne, who has ſince taken the name of Tooke, and who has done many glorioufly audacious things in the cauſe of liberty; and who, notwithſtanding the aſſaſſin-like attack that has been made upon his aged life, by the Reevites and Pittites of the day, during the laſt ſummer, by keeping him ſhut up in a cloſe unwholeſome room, I hope he will live to do many more glorioufly audacious things in the ſame cauſe—This John Horne Tooke wrote a libel upon the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons: and I have heard him ſay, that it was certainly the moſt audacious libel that ever was penned. He got it immediately inſerted in the newſpaper. This libel kicked up, as he expected, a monſtrous riot in St. Stephen's chapel:—for that is ſometimes—or at leaſt it uſed to be:—not the preſent Houſe of Commons to be ſure:—I ſpeak only of former Houſes of Commons, about which it is no treaſon to ſpeak one's mind freely. Theſe, however, have been formerly the moſt riotous and ſometimes the moſt blackguard aſſemblies in the nation. The preſent parliament is undoubtedly very much reformed: but I hope the next will be reformed ſtill more. The Speaker, in a very great fury, took the chair; and immediately declared, he would not ſit there and have the dignity of the Houſe attacked through his ſides, in this way. A warm debate was produced, and the attention of the public was called towards the ſubject.

They attempted, but were not wiſe enough to know how to do it, to puniſh the author of the libel: but they never dared to bring in the bill a third time; and the relation of the great, and upright, and immaculate Lord Chief Juſtice, who was the great and powerful friend of the great and powerful Lord North, never had his bill brought in again; and was glad to make his peace, in a fair and honourable manner, with the ſaid Mr. Wm. Tooke, whoſe eſtate he had attempted to incloſe as his own.

In the uſual courſe, however, a bill is brought in, and petitions may be preſented, and which, when they are ſupported, ſome little compenſation, to be ſure, is generally made to the lower orders of ſociety. But ſuppoſe it happens, as it does frequently happen, and muſt frequently happen, that

that thoſe poor individuals have no friend even to put it into their minds that they have the power of doing ſuch a thing: and the great are not very anxious that the poor about them, ſhould be very well informed as to their political rights! No: they are to be fleeced as bare as can be, and their very bones are to be picked, after they are fleeced, by the rich man, who having committed a highway robbery upon their little properties, talks of the ſecurity of property, and enters into aſſociations, with Reeves and his cabaliſtical informers, to prevent *Republicans and Levellers* from enquiring into the right by which theſe robberies have been committed.

But, Citizens, it is very evident that a tenth part of that expence, which has been devoted in this mad and ridiculous war, and in ſupporting the places, penſions, and emoluments of the corrupt ſet who have produced the war—a tenth part of this revenue would have cultivated, or made conſiderable advances towards *cultivating, all the waſte lands throughout the country, for the benefit and advantage of the common people*;—not a bare common, with here a blade of graſs and there a blade of graſs, and here a dangling briar and there a copſe to deſtroy their little flocks. No, they may turn them into a plentiful, luxuriant, ſmiling country, from which they might reap a part of their ſubſiſtence; and not be compelled to toil from their bed to their table, and from their table to their beds, and thus from day to day, in one conſtant ſucceſſion of labour, as if the great maſs of mankind were only born to breed ſlaves for the higher orders of ſociety; and to toil and ſweat, and die, without comfort and accommodation.

Go even into the neighbourhood of this metropolis; where manure is abundant; where the means of cultivation are eaſy;—go which way you will; turn to the eaſt, the weſt, the north or ſouth;—ſee what tracks of land lay bare and deſolate, which, with a little of the care of government, if they had time to beſtow it upon ſuch *inſignificant ſubjects*, might procure a comfortable ſubſiſtence for innumerable families, whoſe little cottages, riſing here and there, with a little aſſiſtance, might turn this waſte into a blooming Eden, and make this country, as one of our poets has called it, "the exhauſtleſs granary of the world!" But all our reſources are ſwallowed up by this mad and ruinous war. Nothing can be thought of but the annihilation of freedom. Nothing can be thought of but ſpreading the name of a *Pitt*, over the continent; and the empty boaſt, of a ſhuffling individual and his

his coadjutor, *Dundas*, having given a conſtitution to a country, who would neither accept of that conſtitution, nor ſuffer either the one or the other of them to be door keeper to the Convention for which they would form the laws.

For this, agriculture is to be neglected, the arts are to be deſtroyed, Wiſdom is to be forbidden to open her lips, infant Genius is no more to plume its unfledged wings in popular aſſemblies, leaſt it ſhould ſoar to the realm of light and truth. Every thing is to be neglected; every thing is to be overthrown; the poor are to be ſtarved in myriads, and only have the melancholy alternative to turn their throats like ſheep to the butchering hand—I was going to ſay of *their* enemy—No, not of their enemy, but of the enemy of *Pitt* and his *Pittites*, and *Dundas* and the aſſes which follow him!—for this, I ſay, every right, every happineſs, every ſocial duty, are to be ſwallowed up! carnage is to reign, year after year, campaign after campaign! mad project after mad project!—Diſappointment, inſtead of producing wiſdom, is only to produce deſperation!—and the wretched inhabitants of *La Vendee* are again to be ſeduced, we are told, from their allegiance; that war may once more rage through that devoted country, and the miniſter of this devoted country may have occaſion to plunge it ſtill deeper, into miſery and deſolation. From calamities ſo aggravated I was going to call for guardian angels—I was going to call for preſerving Deities to reſcue us. But no: I call upon the good ſenſe—I call upon the virtue—I call upon the ſpirit, and integrity of the people, to ſnatch the people from the precipice upon which they ſtand, and preſerve us from the deſolation which elſe muſt inevitably ſwallow us.

THE

THE EPITHALAMIUM.

(FROM THE PERIPATETIC.)

SPORTIVE Lyre, whoſe artleſs ſtrings,
Bruſh'd by young Affection's wings,
(Nymphs and ruſtics liſt'ning round)
Whiſper'd ſweet the varied ſound—
Sounds which only aim'd to borrow
Pathos from the youthful heart,—
Thrills of Hope, and Sighs of Sorrow—
Fleeting joy, and tranſient ſmart!—
Sportive Lyre! ah, once again—
Once again, and then no more—
Let me wake the youthful ſtrain,
And thy playful ſtrings explore.
Once again—and then, adieu!—
Bolder heights my ſoul ſhall try;
Bolder objects riſe in view—
TRUTH and godlike LIBERTY!
To theſe my eye enamour'd turns:
For theſe my ardent boſom burns:
Let theſe alone my thoughts employ—
TRUTH and godlike LIBERTY!
Rous'd by theſe, my glowing ſoul
Pants a nobler wreath to gain;—
Pants for GLORY's *patriot* goal
Where the *daring* Virtues reign!
Pants to hear the graver Muſe
Wake the loud enthuſiaſt ſhell
Whoſe notes heroic pride infuſe
And bid the ſoul with ardour ſwell:—
Noble Ardour!—virtuous Zeal!
Parent of each generous deed;
Guardian of the PUBLIC WEAL,
For which the valiant joy to bleed.
Thoughts like theſe, from hence, alone,
Shall this glowing boſom own.—
Thoughts that lift the ſoul on high
To make its own Eternity,
And with Meonian rapture ſwell
The notes of Fame's immortal ſhell.

Meanwhile, Iō Hymen! thy triumphs I join,—
My Fancy awhile to thy ardours reſign:

Thoſe

Thoſe ardours which oft, when anxiety reigns,
When the nerves wildly throb, or when languid the veins,
By Stella awakened, pour balm thro' my ſoul,
Lull to ſleep every pang, and each ſorrow controul,
And, chacing each paſſion that peace would deſtroy,
Reſtore me to harmony, ſoftneſs, and joy;—
Thoſe ardours by Nature indulgently given
To realize all that is look'd for in heaven,—
To unite us in bonds of affection and peace,
And bid the rude ſtruggles of ſelfiſhneſs ceaſe,
Till, heart link'd to heart, all the univerſe ſmile,
And Social Affection each ſorrow beguile,
While Sympathy's touch ſhall the union ſuſtain,
And vibrate alike thro' each link of the chain.
Yes ſuch, if by Nature conducted, and join'd
Not by Intereſt and Pride, but the tie of the mind,
Sex blended with ſex from affection alone,
And Simplicity made every boſom its throne—
Such, ſuch are the bleſſings from Hymen would flow,
And this *wilderneſs* turn to an *Eden* below:—
An *Eden of Mind* where each virtue ſhould blow.

Then, Iö! thou Hymen that reign'ſt o'er the few
Who boldly the dictates of Nature purſue!
Bleſt power! who alone to the virtuous art known
Whoſe boſoms the charm of Simplicity own,
While a *ſordid impoſtor*, uſurping thy name,
Of throngs of proud votaries the homage can claim—
The creatures of Faſhion, of Avarice the ſlaves,
Whom Vanity leads, and each folly depraves.
But ſee, what kind omens bright dawning appear,
The *patriot boſom of Virtue* to cheer!—
Simplicity comes, by fair Liberty led,
And Hymen—pure Hymen ſhall lift up his head.
Each Social Affection once more ſhall return,
And the altar of Truth with pure incenſe ſhall burn,
While Love, like the Phœnix, ſhall riſe from the flame,
His laws ſhall reſtore, and his ſaboth proclaim;
And, wide thro' the Heavens his broad pinions unfurl'd,
Shall ſhake his bright plumes, and ſhed peace o'er the world.

THE TRIBUNE. N°. XVIII.

Conſequences of depriving the MASS *of the* PEOPLE *of their ſhare in the* REPRESENTATION. The THIRD LECTURE "*on the Cauſes of the preſent* DEARNESS & SCARCITY *of* PROVISIONS," *delivered* Wedneſday, May 6th, 1795.

CITIZENS,

THIS is the third time I have met you upon the ſubject of this night's Lecture: if I were to meet you again and again till I have gone through the whole of my ſubject, I know not when this courſe of lectures could poſſibly cloſe. The further our reſearches extend, the more we find to inveſtigate. This, ſo true in ſciences, is perhaps more conſpicuouſly true with reſpect to the ſources of thoſe great national calamities under which we are ſinking.

I anticipated to you on the firſt night the very wide field of enquiry into which this topic would lead me. I was not aware, however, of its full extent. In ſhort, it would be totally impoſſible to do juſtice to the ſubject in a courſe of lectures that profeſſes to be miſcellaneous; and I feel myſelf called upon, from the preſſure of temporary matter, to bring it to a concluſion this evening.

In my mode of inveſtigating it I have divided it into two general heads: that is to ſay, the immediate cauſes of aggravated ſcarcity and dearneſs; and the general regulations which have unfortunately been adopted, in this country, by which the gradual increaſe has been occaſioned. For the ſake of methodical arrangement, it would have been proper, perhaps, to have begun with the latter. Circumſtances, however, led me to a different arrangement: particularly my having announced as a part of the ſubject a topic which neceſſarily connected itſelf with that branch of the enquiry, at a time when I was not aware that I ſhould deliver any more than one lecture upon the ſubject before me.

The greateſt part then of what I had to ſay upon the cauſes of the temporary ſcarcity, I have brought to a concluſion

ſion in the former lecture. I am now going to the immediate inveſtigation of what may be conſidered as the permanent, though growing, cauſes of the dearneſs of proviſions in this country. And, among thoſe, I ſhall conſider paper credit; the corn laws; the monopoly of farms; the encouragement of the breed of horſes; tythes; the neglect of our fiſheries; and contracts and monopolies between fiſhermen and fiſhmongers; from whence I ſhall digreſs once more to the affairs of Poland, and then lead you back to that which in fact is the fountain of all the other cauſes, the monſtrous growth of barefaced corruption in this country.

With reſpect to paper credit, it may not, at firſt view, appear to be immediately connected with the ſubject. But this opinion will vaniſh, if you remember that it is an admitted principle, making exceptions for accidents which may produce temporary ſcarcity, and alſo for the contracts and monopolies between the holders of particular articles, that the price of commodities muſt neceſſarily be regulated by the quantity of circulating medium;—or in other words, that gold and ſilver and all other arbitrary ſigns of property, decreaſe and fluctuate in their value, in proportion as they become more abundant, but that the real articles of neceſſity always remain preciſely the ſame. The calculations and cuſtomary language of the world lead us indeed to a contrary concluſion. But the fact is, that it is gold that is purchaſed with commodity, and not commodity with gold: the gold being in reality nothing but the counters or the figures, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, by which the quantum of wealth is calculated. Whenever, therefore, the numeral or nominal wealth is more abundant than the production, you muſt put down a greater quantity of theſe counters, or the ſigns of theſe counters, to tell how many ſheep, how many oxen, or how much corn you are worth, or able to buy.

You are to conſider that paper credit, thought it does not increaſe the ſpecie, but on the contrary may be proved to occaſion its diminution, yet increaſes the circulating medium: that is to ſay, that paper is taken to market, particularly the wholeſale market, inſtead of ſpecie, and, paſſing in common with the circulating ſpecie, increaſes the quantity of nominal wealth in circulation, and of courſe occaſions any given quantity of money to be worth ſo much the leſs. Thus then you will find that the circulation of paper begets an increaſe in the price of all the articles of conſumption which the great maſs of the people have occaſion for. It is ſo important that this

part

part of the ſubject ſhould be underſtood, that I would rather be guilty of tautology than be obſcure. I will ſtate it therefore in another way: As the price of the article which can be brought into the market, muſt be proportionate to the quantity of circulating medium which can be carried into the market, it follows of courſe that if I, having 5000l. in ſpecie, can circulate my paper to the amount of 5000l. more, and thus carry in effect 10,000l. into the market, inſtead of 5000l. I produce an inevitable increaſe in the price of the articles to be conſumed. This, with reſpect to the dealers in this paper coin, is matter of no inconvenience. It is a ſtruggle of credit. It enables them to carry on their commerce with greater facility; and he whoſe word paſſes moſt current has the beſt of it. But the common people, the working man and the little ſhopkeeper, have no part of the credit reſulting from this circulating paper. They muſt take it indeed, ſometimes, in payment; and they muſt abide by the loſs of the exchange, and the delay. But their notes will not be accepted; their accommodations between individual and individual will not paſs current; they are not permitted to ſwindle the public, though the rich are; but they muſt bear their part of the increaſed price of the neceſſaries of life, in conſequence of this ſwindling in which they have no ſhare.

And yet, Citizens, no ſort of property is protected with ſo much jealouſy as this fabricated, circulating medium. The laws of this country, ſevere and ſanguinary enough in many reſpects that relate to the treatment of the lower orders of ſociety, have thought it neceſſary to be ſtill more rigid than uſual with reſpect to this paper credit: and conſequently we find that forgery is among thoſe crimes and offences which never eſcape the laſt ſentence and puniſhment of the law.

Why is this? There muſt be ſome reaſon for it. Surely we cannot admit that forgery is a crime peculiarly marked with the blackeſt ſtains of turpitude.—I ſtand not up as an *advocate* for crimes that violate property; but I wiſh that a ſcale ſhould be obſerved between the puniſhment and the turpitude of actions. Surely, then, I ſay we cannot ſuppoſe that there is more moral turpitude in the act of forgery than in many actions that are paſſed by with a much ſlighter degree of puniſhment. The common feelings of mankind revolt at ſuch a ſuppoſition: and nothing but that commercial influence which, of late years, has contaminated our councils and our laws, could have countenanced the unremitting

ſeverity with which this crime has been purſued. We find accordingly that where individuals have not been miſled either by commercial connections, or by particular attachments, to the modes and practices of the times, that a great diſpoſition ariſes among mankind to condemn or blame this extreme ſeverity; nor could all the arguments of commercial expediency and the inviolable barrier of mercantile credit, ſtifle the voice of public ſympathy in the recent caſes of Peru and Dodd.

A very ludicrous anecdote, applicable to this ſubject, was once related to me by an officer whoſe duty it is to attend one of the circuits. A man had been indicted for forgery at the aſſizes; and a jury of farmers and graziers was impannelled to try the offence. The facts were proved beyond the poſſibility of contradiction; but the honeſt farmers did not underſtand how it ſhould happen, that a man who committed a robbery without any ſort of violence, or injury to the peace of ſociety, ſhould be puniſhed in a manner ſo much more ſevere than many whoſe crimes were marked with deeper turpitude. They therefore conſulted among themſelves, and preſently agreed, that tho' the thing to be ſure were proven, yet as for matter of that, it was impoſſible to hang a man for a bit of paper. If he had ſtole a ſheep, it would have been another thing; but to hang a man for a bit of paper, no they could never agree with that matter: as they had juſt been trying a man, who had killed another by an unlucky blow, and which the Judge inſtructed them to find only manſlaughter, they agreed to bring this in manſlaughter alſo; and manſlaughter it was.

But however much at a loſs, reaſoning like ſpeculative moraliſts, we might be to account why a ſuperior degree of ſeverity ſhould be adopted, for the preſervation of this particular ſpecies of property, practice will ſoon give us a clue. Nothing is ſo friendly to individual accumulation and monopoly.

This the legiſlators of the ancient world very well knew. They knew that in proportion as you can compreſs property into a ſmall compaſs, a few will have an opportunity of inroſſing to themſelves a larger proportion of the riches of the country, and of keeping the other portions of ſociety in miſery and depreſſion. Lycurgus therefore invented a ſpecies of coin, which has been rendered famous through ſucceeding ages, by the name of iron money. So that if a man in Sparta was worth twenty or thirty pounds, he was obliged

to

to hire a waggon, to remove it from place to place: an expedient which could not fail of producing the desired effect, of preserving a considerable degree of equality among the citizens.

A contrary object has been kept in view by modern legislators, and of course, a contrary practice has been appealed to. It was found beneficial to the revenue, it was found beneficial to corruption, to luxury, and to usurpation, that property should come into the hands of as few individuals as possible; and therefore methods have been devised to favour this monopoly.

The history of the progress of wealth, or rather of the medium of wealth, would be a very curious one if I had time to enter into it at large. In the first instance undoubtedly all wealth must have consisted in what is now called *kind*:—Persons who have collected or who have paid tythe in kind will understand what I mean. But this unwieldy sort of wealth would be very inconvenient upon the present system. It would undoubtedly clog very much the wheels of what ministers call Government—that is to say, corruption. This, however, you would not perhaps consider as a very grievous calamity; and you might even be tempted to exclaim with Pope

"O that such bulky bribes as all might see
"Still, as of old, encumber'd villainy!
"A Statesman's slumbers how this speech would spoil!
"Sir, Spain has sent a thousand jars of oil;
"Huge bales of British cloth blockade the door:
"A hundred oxen at your levee roar."

Essay on Use of Riches.

Specie, then, was soon introduced; but was found not sufficiently convenient: for James I. having ordered a large sum to be given to one of his favorites; but happening, by strange accident, to have a minister who had a little honesty, he took him into the room where the money was all spread out. James was astonished at the formidable appearance of so many guineas; and declared it was too much for any individual. He ordered therefore that his favourite should be content with half.

Nor is this the only kind of inconvenience which politicians have experienced from transactions in specie. It has been found that guineas, like roaring oxen can tell tales. Of this

this I will ſatisfy myſelf with one example. A great politician, in the time of William III. had been deſirous of a private audience with Majeſty, and had accordingly crept up the back ſtairs: for whether you have a *Whig King* or a *Tory King*, there muſt always be a back ſtair-caſe to the royal cloſet. What the important intelligence was which he had to communicate was never known, for the affair was conducted with becoming privacy. Nor would it ever have been known what was the occaſion of the ſubſequent alteration in his ſentiments and conduct, but for an unlucky accident. But juſt as he was ſtealing down again, the bag, in which the bribe was contained, which was to pay him for his future votes in Parliament, happened to burſt, and the whole ſecret was revealed.

" Once 'tis confeſt, beneath the patriot's cloak,
" From the crack'd bag the dropping guinea ſpoke,
" And, gingling down the back ſtairs, told the crew
" Old Cato is as great a rogue as you."

But, Citizens, paper credit has at once given wings and ſecrecy to corruption. There is now no neceſſity for cumberous waggons to take away your heavy iron wealth; no occaſion for canvas bags to hold your millions; or cloaks to hide them from the public eye. A little bit of paper that may be " paſſed thro' the hollow circle of a ring," may anſwer every demand of Government or corruption—may purchaſe a whole Houſe of Commons, or tranſport a band of Patriots to Botany Bay.

" Bleſt paper credit! laſt and beſt ſupply,
" That lends Corruption lighter wings to fly:
" Gold, wing'd by thee, can compaſs hardeſt things,
" Can purchaſe ſtates, or fetch, or carry kings.
" A ſingle leaf can waft whole navies o'er,
" Or ſhip off armies to a diſtant ſhore;
" A leaf, like Sybil's, waft us to and fro,—
" Our fates, our fortunes as the winds do blow!"

The next article to which I ſhall call your attention you will immediately perceive to be moſt intimately connected with the ſubject. I mean the corn laws.

It is not neceſſary for me to enter into an inveſtigation of all thoſe commercial regulations which have ſo ſtrong a tendency to favour the wealthy few, and keep the reſt of

of ſociety in a ſtate of depreſſion and poverty. I ſhall only notice ſuch of thoſe regulations as relate immediately to the ſubject in queſtion: though undoubtedly every one of them in ſome degree eventually affects the price of all commodities and neceſſaries of life.

Commerce, in fact, ought to be no part of the ſubject now before us: for the object of agriculture ought not to be *commerce*, but the comfort and accommodation of the people. But our regulations have not always had this beneficial object in view. We find but too many of them which have a particular tendency towards favoring the opulent landholder, and bolſtering up, thro' his means, the Syſtem of Rotten Boroughs and Corruption. We find many precautions taken to increaſe the weight and influence of thoſe gentlemen: and for a very good reaſon: they are not only proprietors of land; that might be of no more eſtimation in the eyes of a miniſter than any other ſpecies of commodity, but they are proprietors alſo of thoſe rotten boroughs, which Lord *Mornington* and Mr. *Pitt* are pleaſed to ſuppoſe conſtitute ſo ſublime a part of the excellence of our conſtitution, that, if we were to tear them away, there would be but little left in the glorious fabric to demand our veneration, or promote our felicity,

Citizens, it is very clear that the higher corn and cattle ſell, the higher the landlord can raiſe his rent. For he will always take care (eſpecially now long leaſes are out of faſhion) not to loſe his ſhare of the advantage, whatever it may be, which the induſtry or the ingenuity of the farmer may produce. The higher, therefore, the market, the higher will be his rent, and the greater his opportunities of indulging in thoſe gratifications to which, undoubtedly, the higher orders are entitled, though it would be ſomething like blaſphemy to attempt to extend them to the lower claſſes of the commuuity.

Hence we find that, among other *wiſe* regulations, there is a bounty upon the exportation of corn, whenever it ſhall be below a given price: and as the perſons who have an intereſt in fixing this ſtandard as high as it can be fixed, are the very perſons who, by the preſent Conſtitution of Borough Jobbing and Ariſtocratic Influence, have the power of altering it whenever they pleaſe, we have—or rather, THEY *have*, by means of this politic regulation an infallible means of keeping up the price to the improvement of their own fortunes, it is true—but to the beggary and ſtarvation of the multitude.

multitude. And yet, while our wealthy land-holders are thus aſſociated and repreſented for the advancement of their rent-rolls, and our unrepreſented labourers and mechanics are puniſhed like felons for aſſociating for an increaſe of wages, Ariſtocrats have the audacity to talk of the liberties of Britons—of equal laws, and equal juſtice.

But the injuſtice does not terminate here. I have repeatedly proved, on a variety of occaſions, that, as all taxes muſt be paid out of the profits of productive labour, the whole burthen of taxation muſt, in truth, eventually fall upon the ſhoulders of the laborious orders of the community. Who is it then that pays the bounty?—The laborious poor!—Who is it that receives the benefit of that bounty?—The land-holder!—the indolent rich!—Is there any doubt of the accuracy of this ſtatement?—Reflect awhile.—Are not the taxes paid by the people? Is not the bounty paid out of the taxes? Does it not follow therefore, of courſe, that the more Government pays in bounties the more taxes muſt be levied upon the people?—And all for what? Why truly for the noble privilege of paying a greater price for every bit of bread they put in their mouths.

How monſtrous to plunder the poor peaſant and artiſan, in this manner, of the very means of purchaſing the neceſſaries of life, and then to tell them that they muſt pay ſo much the more for having been ſo plundered!!!

Nor is this all. Having taken precautions to prevent the price of the neceſſaries of life falling below the minimum which our land-holders and borough-mongers will condeſcend to accept, they have alſo taken other precautions to mount it up to the *maximum* which their *conſciences* would ſuffer them to exact. For this barriers are to be erected to prevent the free progreſs of mercantile intercourſe;—the firſt great maxim in the communion of nations ("Let the abundances of each be exchanged, that the ſcarcities of each may be removed!") is to be violated;—and commerce, the boaſted glory of our iſle!—Commerce, who from her very eſſence ſhould be free as air, is to groan in manacles!

Unleſs the average price in our markets ſhould be upwards of 50s. per quarter, no corn can be imported from foreign countries.

Now, Citizens, be pleaſed to remember that though 50s. is or was a very high price, yet good wheat may be conſiderably more than 50s. Nay, and muſt be ſo before the ports can be opened; becauſe all the wheat ſold at market is not good;

good; and as it is the *average*, and not the *maximum*, that opens or closes the ports, the average price may be 50s. while all the good wheat may be sold at a price very considerably higher. I will instance this by a calculation. The average is fixed by the inspection of officers who attend the markets for the purpose of taking an account of the quantities sold in different districts. Suppose that 50 quarters are sold at 53s. that will give you 132l. 10s.; suppose 200 quarters at 52s. the amount will be 750l.; then suppose 400 more at 49s. which is 980l. for the whole. The result is, that 650 quarters of wheat selling for 1632l. 10s. the average price becomes 50s.; but the good corn has been sold at 52 and 53s. Thus then you see, that till good corn has amounted to 53s. or upwards, the ports must be shut, and no foreign corn must be admitted to come in competition with the corn produced in this country; because such a competition would do what? Injure the great mass of the people?—No; do them good—make bread so much the cheaper. And who can dispute that it would be good for the great mass of the people, that all the necessaries of life should be sold as cheap as possible?—No; the injury would be to the rich landholder, who would not be able to charge so great a price for his land: a thing so monstrous, that the happiness of millions ought not, in the eyes of wise and beneficent legislators, to be held in competition with it for a moment. But even this average, extravagant as it would once have been thought, is not fixed. It is fixed, indeed, with respect to you and me: it is fixed that it shall never be altered for *our* advantage; but it is not fixed that it shall never be altered for the advantage of our boroughmongers and legislators. The fact is, it is altered whenever it suits their conscience that it should be. At no great distance of time, the average was 48s. instead of 50s.—But mark the consequence of your having no voice, no interest in the choice of your *representatives*; of having your legislature with those individuals who are to make your laws and regulations—the rich landed proprietors—the owners of rotten boroughs—the sapient individuals who happen to possess, upon their estates, the fragments and relicks of Druids temples at Old Sarum; or to see from the wave-invaded shore the ruins of a church, still struggling with the surrounding sea, whose shattered spire continues to be represented, though the spot that encircled it is no longer the habitation of man.

It is natural enough that those persons, being the only individuals represented, being the only individuals who have any

power of controul over the repreſentatives, their intereſt ſhould be particularly attended to; and that, therefore, in proportion as the price of corn increaſes, the average price fixed in the act of parliament ſhould alſo be altered: nor ſhould I be at all ſurprized, if, in a few years, we were to run from 50 to 60, to 70, to 100. Why not? The individuals who make the laws having an intereſt in making this average as high as it poſſibly can be borne, what ſhould reſtrain them but a dread of the enlightened ſpirit of the people? And who ſhall dare attempt to inſpire that dread? To put the borough-mongers in fear, you are told, is to overawe Parliament; and to overawe Parliament, you are told, is High Treaſon: and as no one, it may be ſuppoſed, is very deſirous of being hanged, drawn and quartered——

"Muſt not things mend in their common courſe,
"From bad to worſe, from worſe to that is worſt?"

SPENCER.

Yet, notwithſtanding all this, a ſapient magiſtrate in the northern extremity of the country—a place for the magiſtrates of which I dare ſay we all have a becoming eſteem) —I mean to ſay the *Lord Juſtice Clerk*, on the trial of *Morton* and others for ſedition, choſe to obſerve that "the poor of "this country, particularly thoſe infatuated people ſtiling "themſelves The Friends of the People, pay no taxes at all. "It is the landed-property men alone that pay all the taxes; "for look you, my Lords, we pay the poor for their labour; "and ſo, as we gi the poor the ſiller to pay the taxes *wi*, "it is we, in truth, that pay aw the taxes. And if they be "not content with our good laws and wiſe government, they "may e'en tack their alls upon their backs, and pack off wi "themſelves. And let them gang, we'll be better quat o' "them. But we can't take our land upon our backs: Na; "we mun ſtay."—So that, notwithſtanding the increaſed price of rent—notwithſtanding the encreaſed price of the commodities of life, upon which, by the way, all taxes ultimately fall—notwithſtanding every burthen and impoſition which the laborious poor are ſubject to, we are told that they pay no part of the taxes: and, as a notable proof of this, we are told that they have nothing left, but that which they can put upon their backs, and go off whenever they chooſe: and as an equal proof that the rich people, the landed *property men* pay all the taxes, they tell you they have the misfortune to be encumbered with ſuch valuable eſtates, that it is impoſſible for

for them to go, let things be as bad as they will. They cannot put their land upon their backs, and consequently they *mun stay*.

Citizens, I might here animadvert upon the unchangeable nature of court politics. *Justice Clerk* tells the common people they may get themselves gone, as soon as they will. They may put their alls upon their backs, and away they may trudge; for that it will be a good thing to be rid of them. —What does the cabinet of this country say at this time? Why, it issues a mandate (legally, I grant you, but mark how consistently) saying, that though you are upon the brink of starvation—though your children are crying to you for bread —though distress and misery of every description encircle you round, you shall not attempt to depart from this country, if you have not the permission of *Mr. Secretary Dundas*. It shall be esteemed as a crime of a very high magnitude. You shall be dragged from the ships, and the ships shall be detained, and not permitted to proceed upon their voyage. You shall have but one alternative—either to starve in your cottages, or be both starved and butchered too, in the ranks of those armies who are fighting for a cause from which undoubtedly you will receive very great advantages; though I very much doubt whether any of you are wise enough to discover in what that advantage will consist. But why animadvert upon inconsistencies? If men can sit upon the bench, and talk such rank nonsense as this, what matters whether they contradict to-day what they said yesterday, or to-morrow what they say to-day?—The labouring part of the community may take their alls upon their back, and quit the country!!! Suppose they did, what would *Lord Justice Clerk*'s landed estate be worth, after they were gone? what would it produce? I will tell him what it would produce—Such innumerable swarms of vermin as would threaten him with immediate destruction, and to deliver him from which he would pray for the restoring arms of those Sans Culottes whom oppressive cruelty had banished from the country. What can *Lord Justice Clerk*, and all the Lords and the Justices—and the Lord knows who to help them, produce from their estates? Let them sow them with the musty records of the courts of law; let them plant them with acts of parliament, and manure them with the sanguinary sentences of the Court of Justiciary; let them, if they choose, dig holes, and bury that gold which they so idolized. What will it produce? Briars, thorns, thistles enough undoubtedly. Every sort of annoyance it will

produce. But bread, the food of man, the barley that ſhould make him wholeſome liquor, will it yield them theſe? Will it feed their ſheep or oxen, or make them broad cloath? No. —No ſort of commodity whatever, for ſuſtenance or comfort, will their land, their law, or their acts of Parliament produce them. Nor will all the mandates of the Privy Council, nor the grave deciſions of the Bench make a potatoe grow without cultivation, or turn acorns into melons and peaches. No: theſe they muſt receive from the labours of that common rabble, without whom the *Lord Juſtice Clerk* has the wiſdom to ſay, they could do a great deal better than with them.

O what a ſort of ſyſtem is it we live under, when Judges ſit upon the Bench and preach doctrines ſo abſurd and ſo pernicious: doctrines which nothing can equal but the intoxicated cruelty of the late ariſtocrats of France, who, while in their gilded carriages, they rolled careleſsly over ſome poor tattered beggar, whom they diſdained to turn out of the way to avoid, have been known to exclaim "It is no matter. It "is only one of the common fellows; and we had always too "many of theſe wretches!"

We have ſeen, Citizens what has been the conſequence of ſuch doctrines in France, I hope we ſhall ſee no ſuch conſequences here. But if we do, whoſe is the fault? Does it reſt with thoſe who call out to the oppreſſor "forbear your "inhumanity—Reform your ill policy?" or does it reſult from thoſe who pollute the ſacred veſtments of authority by doctrines ſo diabolical as that which I have read?

Another cauſe of the growing ſcarcity to which I ſhall refer you, is the monopoly of farms. The time has been, as Goldſmith beautifully expreſſes it, the happy time, "when every rood of land maintained its man." What is the caſe now! Where will you go for thoſe little farms which ſupported in comfort, and ſupplied with all the ſimple neceſſaries and decencies of life, a family healthy from its induſtry, virtuous from ſurrounding neceſſities, and whoſe intereſts were inſeparably united by the humble ſituation it was placed in with that of the great maſs of the people? Thoſe little farms are no longer to be found. Large proprietors have graſped whole provinces, almoſt, in one concern; and that uſeful order of men is annihilated, to make room for the ſpacious granaries, and unwieldy opulence of monopoliſts and ſpeculators, who, by reaſon of their wealth and fewneſs, find combination and compact eaſy, and rule the market at their own will and pleaſure.

A cor-

A correſpondent, reſiding in Shropſhire, gives me the particulars of ſome circumſtances which have taken place in his own neighbourhood. He tells me that, in two villages, in the neighbourhood of his own reſidence, he remembers, at no conſiderable diſtance of time, nine farms to have been contained in the one, and ſeven farms in the other: each of which ſupported, of courſe, the families of the occupiers in decency and comfort. What is the condition now? The *nine* farms are reduced to *three*; and the *ſeven* are reduced to *two*. Thus then you have two families living in luxury, where you uſed to have ſeven maintained in decent competency; and you have three exulting in their large poſſeſſions, where you uſed to have nine carrying their produce to a fair and early market, to the accommodation and benefit of ſociety.

Whoſe is the advantage of this? There can be no doubt: the landed proprietor's. He collects his rent with leſs trouble. He finds it more eaſy to obtain it immediately at the time when it is due; or the proprietor, forſooth, is a man of capital and credit; and if he cannot get ſpecie from him, he can get circulating paper. He finds, alſo, that he is enabled to demand a higher rent; becauſe when only one family is to be ſupported, where three were to be ſupported before, the farmer can be content with a more moderate ratio of profit, and yet his family live in greater abundance than the three families could afford.

This is not all. The miſchief does not ſtop here. This monopoly of farms deſtroys competition, and encourages ſpeculation; and conſequently creates an artificial, and increaſes the real, ſcarcity. The little farmer was obliged to take his commodity into the market, when he wanted to make up his rent, or other payments; the great farmer can keep it in his barns till he meets with a chapman at ſuch a price as he chooſes to put upon it. The little farmer could not ſpeculate upon the chances of ſcarcity, and thus create one where otherwiſe it would never have exiſted; the great farmer can: he finds no inconvenience in ſuch ſpeculation; becauſe, being a man of conſiderable property, a man of *reſpectability*, (as we denominate thoſe who have the power and the inclination to ſtarve their fellow beings by wholeſale) he knows that, if he is preſſed for an immediate ſupply, he can have it, by means of the fictious circulating medium. The fact is, that the very character of a farmer is almoſt annihilated. In many parts of the country you ſee no ſuch thing as an individual who attends to his own farm, and is thus brought to ſomething like

like a level with the labourers whom he employs. Inſtead of this the land is divided between vaſt proprietors, who conſider their farms as objects of commercial ſpeculation, and who look down upon the poor dependent drudges who toil for them, as beings who have no ſort of title to commiſeration and fellow feeling.

Citizens, we muſt immediately perceive, if we uſe a moment's reflection, that in the preſent ſtate of human intellect and human paſſions, abſolute equality of property is totally impoſſible. It is a viſionary ſpeculation which none but the calumniators of the friends of freedom ever entertained. *Reeves* and his aſſociators might deem it convenient to ſuppoſe perſons to entertain ſuch notions; but they exiſted only in the diſtempered brains of Alarmiſts. But though this is not attainable, there is another ſtate of ſociety perfectly practicable, and which is the beſt ſubſtitute for this poetical viſion—this golden age of abſolute equality: I mean the imperceptible gradations of rank, where ſtep riſes above ſtep by ſlow degrees, and link mingles with link in intimate and cordial union, till the whole ſociety connected together by inſeparable intereſts indulges that fellow feeling between man and man, from which, and from which alone, the real fruits of humanity and juſtice can be expected.

Alas! "What can we argue but from what we know?" This argument, ſo often applied as the teſt of ſcience, we may apply to feeling alſo. We muſt know what calamity is, before we can feel for it. The calamities of the order of ſociety but juſt below us!—an order into which we ſee the poſſibility that we may ourſelves deſcend, preſs home to our feelings. We enter into the particulars that conſtitute their poignancy—we underſtand their nature, and we feel them in their full force. We are diſpoſed both to reſpect and relieve them. But he who has been nurſed in pomp and luxury, looks down upon the poor drudge, by whom he is ſupported, as a beaſt of burden, created for his eaſe and advantage; and feels no more for his calamities, in three inſtances out of four, than for the pangs of the expiring brute who bleeds beneath the ſtroke of the butcher to ſupply his table.

But theſe imperceptible gradations are deſtroyed by the preſent monopolizing ſyſtem. There are but three claſſes of men left among us—the monied ſpeculators, among whom may be claſſed the great farmers I have been deſcribing; the proud high towering drones, who hum, and buz, and make a noiſe in the hive; but who never brought a morſel of honey into

into the cells; and the poor hard-working drudges, who toil from day to night, and almoſt from night to day, and receive for their uſeful and important ſervices the bitter inheritance of unpitied poverty. In great towns it is true gradations ſomething more various may be traced; even in theſe we are haſtening to the ſame diſmal ſtate of ſeparation. Hence it is, from theſe wide gaps, theſe chaſms in ſociety, that there is no common intereſt, no general affection, no univerſal ſympathy, binding man to man, and conſtituting one great, united, harmonious maſs, having but one object, and adhering ſteadily together for the preſervation of each other and the attainment of that object.

Perhaps it is not proper for me, who certainly am not very far advanced in agricultural ſpeculations, to lay down any particular regulations; but I doubt very much whether it would not be to the happineſs of this country, if no farm was held by any individuals of more than two hundred acres. But we have now thouſands of acres held in one farm.—What wonder, then, that there are monopolies? What produces monopolies? When great competition exiſts monopoly cannot flouriſh. But when the power of competition is in the hands of a few individuals, they have nothing to do but to agree to do that which their mutual intereſt will prompt them to fulfill, and they have the whole public at their mercy; and the power of ſtarving them into a compliance with their extravagant demands.

Citizens, I do not intend to indulge myſelf frequently in ſpeculative projects. But one has been ſubmitted to me which I think worthy of attention. I have formerly ſhewn you, that almoſt half the land in this iſland remains in an uncultivated ſtate. "Now we will ſuppoſe," ſays my correſpondent, "that four millions of acres of this was parcelled into ſmall "farms of 80 or 100 acres; this would become a receptacle "for 50,000 families put into poſſeſſion of a comfortable ſub-"ſiſtence; and would give us in a few years, by the increaſed "accommodation and comfort of theſe families, an addition "to the riſing generation of many thouſand individuals. Take "into conſideration alſo the advantage that would reſult to "agricultural production: and if we ſuppoſe only 30 acres of "tillage in one farm, this, on low calculation, would produce "us 12,500,000 meaſures of nett grain." I do not pledge myſelf to the accuracy of the calculations made in this propoſal: But it is eaſy to ſee what advantages might reſult by employing our revenues in ſuch improvements inſtead of laviſhing

laviſhing them in projects of ſanguinary ambition. Theſe are the means by which our grandeur and power might be indeed increaſed, inſtead of depopulating the continent, and ruſhing into frantic cruſades to extinguiſh the principles of Jacobiniſm, and reſtore Royalty and popiſh Idolatry.—Reſtore Royalty in France!—We reſtore Royalty in France!—What abſurdity!—What injuſtice!—Whether the principles of Royalty be right or wrong—whether Republicaniſm be right or wrong—whether Jacobiniſm ought to triumph, or Jacobiniſm ought to fall, what was it to us in the preſent inſtance? It was the affair of France, and France ought to be left to ſettle it; nor had we any more right to go to war to compel that nation to adopt a government according to our taſte than I have to break into your houſes, and ſay you have no right to have any ſort of food upon your table but ſuch as I chooſe for you. You like roaſt beef, perhaps; but you ſhall have nothing but boiled. You, perhaps, are a Jew and will not eat pork. I tell you you ſhall have nothing but pork; and if you do not forego your damned Judaical infidelity, and eat pork when I command you, I will pull every hair out of your chin, and turn you out as bare as ever your King Nebuchadnezzar was turned out, to graze upon the common, and eat cold ſallads with the beaſts of the field.

Another circumſtance connected very cloſely with the ſtate of agriculture is the encouragement given to the breed of horſes. No perſon can be at a loſs to conceive how very large a proportion of thoſe commodities which might adminiſter to the comfortable ſupport of man, is devoured by the numerous train of horſes kept for a variety of purpoſes in this country. If we turn our eyes to the ſtuds of Noblemen and Princes; if we conſider that many, for mere pomp and vanity, have kept hundreds of horſes in ſtables vying for ſplendour with the palaces of our nobility, erected at an expence that would build cottages for all the poor in the neighbourhood of London:—if we conſider the monſtrous quantity of ſteeds trained for the purpoſes of gaming, to increaſe the deteſtable art of laviſhing property on vice and profligacy, inſtead of beſtowing it upon benevolence and charity;—if we take all thoſe circumſtances into the calculation which will ariſe in your minds at the bare mention of the ſubject, we cannot but immediately reflect, what a large decreaſe muſt be thus occaſioned of the produce which would otherwiſe contribute to the ſupport of man. Conſider how many cattle might graze, and how much wheat might grow upon the tracts of land allotted

lotted for theſe ſteeds; tell me if in this article of luxury and faſhion you do not find one of the permanent, though growing cauſes of that ſcarcity of proviſions of which we at this time complain.

This, alſo, is extended ſtill further. The farmer muſt have ſteeds which occaſionally he can convert into horſes of pleaſure. His very plough would be diſgraced by having an ox in it; every part of labour, ſome of which might even be better performed by oxen, is performed by horſes.

To this, alſo, we ought to add the waſte, the profligacy, the diſſipation, and deſtructive vices which reſult from the ſcandalous practice of keeping an enormous train of lounging fellows in liveries, the whole of whoſe labour is devoted, not to increaſing the neceſſaries of life, not to add to the uſeful productions of ſociety, but to increaſing the vice, the licentiouſneſs, the luxury, the pride of their employers, ſwelling them up with the monſtrous idea that one ſet of men was formed to cringe at the footſtools of another; and that there are, in reality, diſtinctions in ſociety beſides thoſe of wiſdom and virtue. It would be digreſſing too far to deſcribe all the miſchiefs that reſult to the morals both of the *Lord* thus waited on, and the *Slave* that waits. My preſent concern is only with the effects upon the production and conſumption of the neceſſaries of life; and theſe are obvious to the moſt caſual obſervation. I cannot, however, paſs by an opportunity of obſerving, that the very practice of being waited on by a train of inſolent ſlaves in Merry-andrew's coats, beſides its other pernicious conſequences to ſociety, has a neceſſary tendency to encourage the idea that one ſet of men is formed of baſer materials than another; that they were born to cringe and bow to a few terreſtrial deities; or to be hewers of wood, and drawers of water, mere beaſts of burden, for the convenience and pleaſure of the erect and lordly few, who call themſelves the higher ranks of life: When the fact is, that theſe characteriſtics, which we ſo properly deſpiſe, reſult not from the original nature of man, but from the vicious inſtitutions of ſociety, which make many adminiſter to the luxuries of one; inſtead of cultivating that ſpirit of equality to which I hope, one day or other, to ſee the human race aſpire.

It would be unpardonable, when talking of the inconveniences under which our agriculture lies, if I were to paſs over the ſubject of tithes: an oppreſſive burden, which preſſes with particular hardſhip upon thoſe articles to which a con-

ſiderable degree of favour ought to be extended, in adjuſting the burthens of the State. The neceſſary articles of conſumption ought, ſurely, by the wiſdom and care of every Government, to be put under ſuch protection and regulations that they ſhould be ſold at the eaſieſt poſſible rate. How is this to be done? By taxing the farmer, firſt of all, in common with the other inhabitants of the country, thro' every gradation of his profeſſion, and in every form which the ingenuity of financiers can deviſe, and then in addition to all this, laying upon his ſhoulders the aggravated burden of prieſtly impoſition to the amount of a tenth of the groſs produce of the ſoil! A burthen, which, when we conſider what has been expended in rent to the landlord, in cultivation of the land, in gathering in the harveſt, and a thouſand incidental expences, will be found to amount at leaſt to one third part of the profit. This might, perhaps, have been endured with patience at a time when ſuperſtition reigned over every mind—when prieſts were conſidered as Gods, and had ſometimes the audacity openly to call themſelves ſuch. But now that the eyes of mankind are opened—when they begin to perceive that every one has a right to ſave his ſoul in his own way, and that the pulpit is but too generally proſtituted to purpoſes of political uſurpation, the motive for chearful compliance with ſo heavy a contribution is no more, and the burthen falling without alleviation upon our ſhoulders, we cannot but reflect on the immediate effect which this muſt have on the price of the neceſſary articles of conſumption.

But let us conſider alſo, not only the immediate, but the ſecondary operation of this *ſacred* tax. Has it not a tendency to depreſs the ſpirit of agricultural improvement? What encouragement have I to labour from the increaſe of the produce of my land? What temptations do you hold out to me to improve the ſoil upon which I live, and to invent new methods of tillage and agriculture, by which ſociety would be benefited? Why this is the advantage: You tell me that a man to hear whom, perhaps, I may piouſly go three times every Sunday; or to whom, perhaps, I may think it greater piety not to go at all; either becauſe his doctrines are averſe to the prejudices in which I have been educated; or becauſe my mind has, ſome how or other, towered above, or ſunk below (for it is not for me to decide) the objects to which he would direct my attention:—This man is to reap the profit of my toil. This man is to reap the harveſt I have ſown. And, in addition to the increaſed rent which I muſt pay to

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the landlord, in conſequence of the benefit I have conferred upon his land, I am to have an increaſed burden upon my ſhoulders to the pious gentleman in the black gown, from whoſe aſſiſtance, I am told, I am not to reap any advantage in this world; but am to receive a copious harveſt in the world to come. I have heard ſay *there are but two ſorts of bad pay-maſters: thoſe who pay before hand, and thoſe who never pay at all.* But unfortunately every one of us is obliged to be a bad paymaſter in this particular. We are obliged to give prompt payment here: but we muſt truſt to the other world for remuneration: where, if we ſhould be deceived, we ſhall have no opportunity of bringing the individual to the bar of the King's Bench, to receive compenſation from the verdict of an honeſt jury.

It muſt, however, be admitted that theſe men have their *uſes* in ſociety. When the country is plunged in war, no matter how, there are generally, you know, faſts and prayers appointed, in order to influence the people to exert themſelves courageouſly to procure a ſucceſsful iſſue to that war. Now it muſt be admitted, that theſe *pious gentlemen* have conſiderable influence in perſuading the people to yield their throats to the knife, for the grandeur and emolument of miniſters, and, of courſe, you know, for our glorious conſtitution. But to ſpeak a little ſeriouſly, whatever might be the objects in view in eſtabliſhing ſuch an inſtitution as this, is the impoſition I am ſpeaking of a means to make that inſtitution ſucceſsful? Is it conſiſtent with policy, even, that the teachers and hearers ſhould be in a perpetual ſtate of warfare? Yet what but a perpetual ſtate of warfare reſults, or can reſult, from this ſyſtem of tithes? Every perſon at all acquainted with the hiſtory of any country village knows the diſgraceful litigations, ſcandalous to morality, ſcandalous to the character of man, with which the pariſhioners are harraſſed by their miniſters, who preach forbearance, and practice intolerance; who tell them they are not to throw their debtor in jail for the ſake of a little property, and yet put their debtor into worſe than any jail whatever, the Spiritual Court, for what common ſenſe and juſtice cannot diſcover to be any debt at all.

I believe the beſt thing for the happineſs and morals of mankind is, that every individual ſhould chooſe his own religion, according to the conviction of his own heart. If he chooſes with TOM PAINE to ſay THE WORLD IS MY COUNTRY; and DOING GOOD MY RELIGION, I ſee no reaſon why he ſhould be perſecuted for that faith.

If he chooſes to bow down to the Trinity; believing that one is three, and three is one, it is ſcandalous to interrupt the freedom and tranquility of his worſhip. It is equally ſcandalous to interupt that freedom and tranquility if, on the one hand he chooſes to worſhip God in ſingle Unity, or to bow down, on the other, to all the wooden Saints or moulton calves "which God-ſmiths can invent, or Prieſts deviſe." Let him hear all. Let him liſten to all. Let him judge of all with candour, and let him remember that *his* grandmother, and *his* nurſe (generally the firſt formers of our religion) are no better judges, nor more infallible Doctors in theſe matters, than the Pope of Rome, or any other old woman that might happen to model the infant faith of his neighbours. Let him determine according to the dictates of his conſcience. (He can have no other guide than conſcience or fear. Let thoſe take the ſcoundrel paſſion—the principle of fear, whoſe minds have not nerve enough for bold enquiry. I am for the Britiſh manlineſs of internal conviction!) Let him hear whom he chooſes; and let the inſtructor and the pupil ſettle their own terms. It is no buſineſs of your's or mine where our neighbour goes, or what he believes, or what he pays. All our buſineſs is whether he is a good member of ſociety, whether he exerts his faculties, mental or corporeal, to advance the intereſts of ſociety.

If ſo general and benevolent a ſentiment is adopted, the diabolical "rancour of theological hatred" muſt be exterminated from the mind of man; and difference of opinion would no more beget that rancour and animoſity that have ſo long deformed the univerſe; and, under the maſk of propagating the religion of peace, ſpread fire and ſword and deſolation through the world: while not content with external ravages, the baneful rapacity with which it has been accompanied has ſeized upon the vitals of national induſtry; has damaged the improvement of the moſt uſeful arts; checked the progreſs of agriculture, and aggravated the dearneſs and ſcarcity of thoſe articles neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of human life.

Such, Citizens, appear to me to be among the leading cauſes that affect the *agricultural productions* of the country. There is another branch, however, of this ſubject which muſt not be paſſed over in ſilence. Corn and cattle are among the moſt important articles of conſumption; but they are not the only reſources of life. This country is ſo happily ſituated that both theſe may fail to a conſiderable degree, and yet barring

barring impolitic regulations, no famine reach us. We are ſurrounded by ſeas and watered by innumerable rivers: yet what is the ſituation of the fiſheries of this country? Look to our northern coaſts, in particular, (you might look at every coaſt) and ſee what neglect prevails. Conſider how long the people of Holland, more induſtrious and more politic than ourſelves, have caught our own fiſh upon our own ſhores; ſalted them, and preſerved them; and afterwards ſold them to us, at a price extravagantly increaſed, in diminiſhed quantities. I have dwelt, in a former lecture, upon this ſubject; and upon the impolitic duties and regulations, with reſpect to ſalt. In my lecture upon the genuine means of averting national calamities, I entered conſiderably into the ſubject; and, as I have printed that lecture, in the firſt number of my Tribune, I ſhall not go into it again. There are ſome facts, however, not noticed there, which ought not to be paſſed over in ſilence.

Some proviſions, under pretence of checking the growth of this evil, have been made: but they are very inefficient; and perhaps, were even intended to be ſo. In Aberiſtwith, in Wales, in particular, it is common for the fiſhermen, during the ſeaſon, to go out in the morning, and catch as many fine cod, and fiſh of that deſcription, as they think they ſhall be able to ſell in their own market. Theſe they throw upon the beech; and the people, of all deſcriptions, come down and purchaſe what they want--the fineſt large fiſh at a penny a piece. An attempt was made, ſome years ago, to raiſe them to two-pence; and the common people were ſo indignant, that they threatened inſurrection; and the fiſhermen were obliged to keep them at the old price. My correſpondent, from whom I have the anecdote—a perſon who has ſent ſome literary productions into the world, enquired why they did not catch a large quantity, as they ſeemed to procure them with ſo much eaſe; but he was anſwered—To what uſe ſhall we catch more than we can ſell? We can get no cheap ſalt to keep them with. Upon enquiring what was meant by cheap ſalt, he found that a regulation had been made, ſome years ago, which required a given quantity of ſalt to be ſold, without any duty, at the ſalterns or manufactories in that part of the country; in order that the ſalting of fiſh might be encouraged, for the benefit of the poor of that neighbourhood in particular, and of the interior of the iſland in general. But what was the conſequence? Did the poor fiſhermen, the common claſs of the people, reap the benefit of this! No.

They

They had more wealthy, and more powerful neighbours, whoſe turn (for they are repreſented in Parliament) was firſt to be ſerved; and the ſwiniſh diſfranchiſed herd, who have no voice by which their complaints can be made known, were to be deprived of the means of laying up, in the plentiful ſeaſon, that which might ſupport them in the time of ſcarcity. A few wealthy individuals, in order to prevent the trade from getting into the hands of theſe little retail haglers, which they thought would be injurious to their monopolizing plans, contract, regularly, for the whole of the ſalt that is thus permitted to be ſold without duty; and the poor are not permitted to have a ſingle grain of it for their own tables. Thus, inſtead of the common people ſalting the fiſh, and preſerving it for themſelves, or carrying it to market, the cheap ſalt is abſolutely bought up, and, as it is ſaid, not made uſe of at all; leſt the product of the fiſheries, which monopolizing individuals have a particular intereſt in keeping at as high a price as poſſible, ſhould get into the hands of the common people, and be ſold at reduced prices.

That there are many practices of this kind it is impoſſible for us to avoid concluding, when we conſider the preſent price of fiſh; and what it uſed to be in former times;—when we conſider that the inhabitants on the banks of the Severn, where the fineſt ſalmon is caught, can rarely get a ſingle fiſh; and that in almoſt every place, where theſe luxuries uſed to abound, the ſame complaint is to be heard. The reaſon is, that the fiſhermen are under contract with certain great factors, to ſell to them the whole of the fiſh that they catch; and are bound by engagements, to deſtroy what is not wanted for their limited markets. This ſtatement, at firſt view, would appear like fiction; but I have the facts from perſons who reſide in the neighbourhood of the Severn, and who have had opportunities of aſcertaining them. I know that, at firſt bluſh, it would appear that this is impolitic in the contracting parties; for that the more they ſell, the larger would be the profit. But this is not the caſe. If the individual can obtain any thing like the ſum for a tenth part of the commodity, which he would obtain for the whole—If he obtains even the half, he receives a very advanced emolument: becauſe the agents to be employed in the ſale, the care to be taken to prevent the whole from being ſpoiled, the expence of carriage, &c. &c. are much leſs when he ſells a ſmall, than when he ſells a very large quantity.

But

But how ſhould any individual have the right of making ſuch regulations? Why ſhould the ſtreams which flow from the liberal urn of nature; which are fed by the waters of heaven, and break their unbidden way through the veins of the earth—thoſe ſtreams which are cultivated by no man—which are ſtocked by no man—which receive no benefit from this man's capital, or that man's capital—why ſhould they be the property of individuals? Are they not the bounties of nature? and has not every one of nature's children a right to ſhare her bounties? Unleſs, forſooth, you chooſe to tell us the great are the only legitimate children of nature, and that the reſt are baſtardized by thoſe ſtatutes of aggrandizement which have lifted a few to rank, emoluments and diſtinctions, which the maſs can never hope to attain!

Such then are a part, and but a part, of the cauſes of that increaſing dearneſs of proviſions, and conſequent miſery of the maſs of the people, of which we complain. That the effects of theſe gradually operating cauſes have lately been very much aggravated by others of a temporary nature, has been already ſhewn; nor ſhall I attempt to recapitulate them at this late hour of the evening. Suffice it to ſay, that, like the preſent war, with which they are ſo intimately connected, they may all be traced to the ſame original ſpring of action——a ſyſtematic averſion in our cabinet to the principles of liberty.

There is one of theſe topics, however, upon which I ſlightly touched at the concluſion of the lecture of Wedneſday laſt, that ſeems to demand more ample notice than I then had time to give it; not only as it is moſt intimately connected with the immediate ſubject of theſe lectures, but as it tends to illuſtrate, in a moſt eminent degree, the real character and views of our Miniſters. It will be obvious that I allude to the affairs of Poland.

It cannot be unknown to you that Poland, in a very conſiderable degree, was conſidered as the granary of Europe. What muſt have been the conſequence of the devaſtations of laſt Summer? Conſider that this granary of the world, inſtead of being cultivated by the peaceful plough-ſhare, has been rent by the iron ſcythe of military tyranny;—that the induſtrious peaſants, who uſed to cultivate the ſoil, have been prevented from that cultivation by the trumpet, which has called them to arms; by the gnawing thought, that what they produced another might reap; that the ſons of Liberty might plow the earth, but that the demons of Deſpotiſm might come with

with their ſcythes and claim the rich harveſt, and carry that which ought to have ſupported a race of men proud of hard earned independence, into the granaries of northern ſavages, whoſe only refinement is ſlaughter, and whoſe only appetite, blood and cruelty.

Conſider alſo the devaſtations of war which have raged through that fine country. Conſider the extent to which this calamity has been diffuſed during that ſtruggle, whoſe glorious energy, and whoſe proſpects of ſucceſs, ſo frequently cheered my heart, while confined within the manſions of the Tower, at a time when proſpects of the happineſs of other countries were the only conſolations of the generous Briton;—for every thing at home laid tamely proſtrate at the feet of a deſpotic faction.—Poor devoted Poland! you might have calculated largely upon the hardſhips and calamities you had to ſtruggle with; but you had one enemy which, perhaps, never entered into your ſpeculations. You did not expect that corruption would be employed by a Britiſh miniſter, to blaſt and palſy your glorious efforts; and to ſtring with increaſed energy the tyrannic arm of the Pruſſian deſpot!

Citizens, this conduct of the miniſter of this country—this underhanded exertion to cruſh the liberties of Poland, diſcover to you a diſmal ſecret. If you reflect, it will unfold to you the real objects which that miniſter has in view. Compare this conduct with the conduct of thoſe miniſters in the time of Charles II. who, it is now univerſally admitted, aimed at the eſtabliſhment of deſpotiſm. What conduct did they purſue? Wherever the dawn of liberty was to be diſcovered, there the Britiſh cabinet found a foe. The republic of Holland felt the eternal hoſtility of the Britiſh court. Why? Becauſe the flame of liberty, ſuch as it was in Holland, was thought to be inimical to the project of Charles's miniſters for extinguiſhing the remaining ſpark of liberty in Britain. Therefore it was that attempts were made to deſtroy republican Holland. Therefore it was that a Stadtholder was forced upon that people. Therefore it was that Charles's miniſters intrigued with the deſpot of France, for the deſtruction and overthrow of Holland. That deſtruction he did not effect; for, juſt at the time when the brave Batavians, deſpairing of being able to defend their country, were about to embark, and tranſport themſelves to the Eaſt-Indies, the genius of Britiſh liberty burſt forth, and compelled the the court of Britain to alter its deteſtable meaſures.

Compare

Compare theſe facts with the conduct of our miniſters in the preſent ſtruggle on the continent. Why ſhould the miniſter of this country, who deals forth his hypocritical admiration of the conſtitution of this country, be hoſtile to the liberties of the Poles? They were not Jacobins. They did not proclaim *liberty* and *equality*. They did not erect guillotines. They did not pretend that *ſans Culottiſm* was to be the baſis of their conſtitution. They did not venture (they were not enlightened enough—they were not wiſe enough—if they had, they would have triumphed!)—they did not venture to proclaim the equal rights of man. They did not attempt to ſet up a government, in which every individual ſhould have an equal ſhare in the appointment of the legiſlature. They were not Robeſpierriſts:—they were not even republicans! Why then was there ſuch animoſity on the part of the Britiſh cabinet againſt the Poliſh revolution?—Citizens—Citizens! I fear we ſhall be compelled to conclude, that the real hatred of our miniſters is not againſt republicaniſm, but againſt liberty; not againſt Jacobiniſm, but againſt the leaſt ſhadow and appearance of independency, and the rights of human beings; a ſettled abhorrence for every thing like free, juſt, and humane laws.

O hypocriſy! how tranſparent is thy veil!—Pitt pretends to approve of limited monarchy: yet Poland attempted to eſtabliſh a limited monarchy, and Pitt ſubſidized a German deſpot to counteract the attempt; and this very Pitt has ſince told you in the Houſe of Commons (for the audacity of ſome men is equal to their profligacy!) that if he had been aware of the uſe to which the ſubſidies *he* granted would be applied, he would nevertheleſs have ſubſidized the King of Pruſſia. We have therefore his own authority for pronouncing that he was at leaſt friendly to the ſubjugation of the brave and virtuous Poles. But for this ſubſidy, it is clear Pruſſia could not have reſiſted the brave efforts of the gallant *Koſciuſko*. He did not reſiſt them effectually at laſt. He felt (and trembled while he felt) the zeal, the ardour of that brave peaſant.—Yes, *peaſant* I will call him; for *Koſciuſko*, like *Stanhope*, was an ariſtocrat only by birth: he could perceive that the peaſantry are the life, the ſoul, the exiſtence of ſociety; and therefore he gloried in the character, and aſſumed the appearance: like a peaſant he fought—like a peaſant he conquered—and, at laſt, like a peaſant fell—to *chains* indeed! to *anguiſh!* but not to *infamy*. No: he fell *from proſperity*; but he roſe *to glory*. His name will be reſounded; his memory will be

beloved. Poſterity will bow adoration to his buſt, when *Pitt* and all his dependants, are ſwept down the tide of oblivion; or if their names are preſerved, will only be preſerved to infamy.

O Poland! Poland!—Yes there was a time when the friends of liberty might flatter themſelves with a hope, that not the General of the Poles, but the *deſpot* of Pruſſia (for it is now no longer treaſon to ſpeak of him as he deſerves!) would have felt the galling of chain. But, alas! the gold of Britain enabled him to hold out till the Ruſſian barbarians were ready to take the field.

The Ruſſian!—How my blood curdles at the name! O Poland! O exhauſted country! O depopulated Warſaw! whoſe brave exertions againſt one deſpot had robbed thee of the energy that ſhould have defended thee againſt another!—what heart bleeds not for thy fate! Behold the fiend *Zuwarrow*, hot from ſcenes of maſſacre and cruelty, where Iſmael's ſons groaned and bled, by thouſands, at his command; nor even Circaſſia's daughters, the beauties of the eaſt, no, nor the ſmiling infants at the breaſt eſcaped his butchering knife. Zuwarrow comes, and Warſaw's ſtreets groan beneath his blood-ſtained ſteps. And thou, Imperial Dæmon! thou curſed Hyæna of the north, thou pouredſt thy ſavage fury in his ſoul, and gaveſt the dagger edge.

Thus Poland fell. It ſunk beneath the ſanguinary graſp; and ſcenes of bloodſhed and horror marked its fall. Liberty expired; humanity groaned; the hero and his bride; the infant and his parent fell together, in one promiſcuous carnage. Such are the triumphs—ſuch the humanity of that regular government, by whoſe aſſiſtance Order and Juſtice are to be reſtored in France.

What then was the conſequence of this ſubſidy to Poland? Deſolation and maſſacre. What was the conſequence to Britain? The produce of that country, which, if our Cabinet had yielded to the wiſhes of the people, for the people's hearts were with the Poles; where the heart of the Miniſter was—if, indeed, he has ſuch a thing, which may be called in queſtion).—The produce of that country, which might have been ſent into our ports—that abundance which might have relieved our diſtreſſes, is gone. It is not only *robbed from us:* It is deſtroyed, annihilated. It is worſe than *loſt to us*; worſe than *fallen into the hands of our enemies.* It has fallen into the wide womb of non-entity: it has periſhed, and we

can

can never recover it. Is this then—this Machiavelian policy of our rulers, not connected with the cauſes of our calamities?

We were told, at a former period, when our bleſſed Sovereign had the misfortune to labour under certain derangements of his tranſcendent intellects—we were told by the right reverend fathers in God, the Biſhops in conclave aſſembled—and what right reverend Biſhops tell us who ſhall venture to call in queſtion?—we were told, that the crimes of the people had cauſed the calamities of the Sovereign. Whether this be true or no, I ſhall not diſpute. I do not pretend to be as well verſed in the occult ſciences, as the reverend bench of Biſhops. But this I know, that whether the crimes of the people produced the calamities of the Sovereign or not, the crimes of his Majeſty's Miniſters frequently produce the calamities both of prince and people.

Thus in the time of Charles I. when the *apoſtate Wentworth*, once a bawling advocate for liberty, became miniſter of the crown, and Earl of Strafford, we find that his bad policy brought the nation into a civil war, and the Sovereign to the block. We find, alſo, that when *Louis* XVI. yielded the reins of government to that profligate wretch, *Calonne*, that *Calonne*, by his arts and intrigues, plunged the country into bankruptcy and miſery; and afterwards, his intrigues plunged Louis XVI. into perjury, and eventually the country into anarchy: an anarchy which Pitt and his coadjutors would perſuade you was occaſioned by the friends of liberty; but which, in reality, was occaſioned by the intrigues of the friends of deſpotiſm: by the cabals of that wretch Calonne, the crimes him, of Condè, and Artois, and the profligacy of the court of France.

Citizens, I am no advocate for the doctrine of conſtructive treaſon. But if it could be admitted, muſt we not determine that thoſe miniſters are guilty of high treaſon, who ſeeing the effects of this miſconduct, purſue precifely the ſame line of conduct, which *Calonne* and the apoſtate *Wentworth* had purſued before.

The fact is, Citizens, that the worſt calamities of every nation reſult from the profligacy of miniſters. Ever careleſs of the welfare of the people, and ever graſping to increaſe revenue and the wages of corruption, they continue the ravages of oppreſſion, till the energies and reſources of the country are exhauſted, and deſolation appears in every corner. And mark how that corruption has ſwelled of late among us. See the torrent which it has ſpread over the country. Once it

was a little rippling ſtream, it played and murmured round the purlieus of the court; in time it became a ſpreading river; now a mighty torrent, it has burſt its banks, and ſwelling like another Nile, has drowned the nation in one general inundation: and behold the half-formed monſters of vice, of miſery, and luxurious deformity, which riſe from its polluted ſlime!

Yes, Citizens, there was a time when corruption had its bounds; when one place was ſufficient for one man. But now, ſo intrepid becomes the honeſty of our courtiers, ſo zealous and enthuſiaſtic are they in preſerving the rights of the people, ſo much additional energy have they acquired, that to ſap their independence requires not one place only, but a dozen, before they will conſent to ſupport the meaſures of the court, and become hoſtile to the welfare of the people. I ſhall not attempt to illuſtrate this by enumerating all the places poſſeſſed by *Pitt* and his family in England, by *Dundas* and his family in Scotland, or by *Beresford* and his family in Ireland. In ſhort, ſuch is the power and patronage graſped by theſe three worthleſs beings, that England, Scotland and Ireland ſeem to contain but three men; each of whom, if you touch but the hair of his head, or threaten to remove him from his places, even though you leave him his ſalaries and emoluments, can threaten you with a civil war, and, perhaps, the wreck and ruin of the whole government.

From this monopoly of places ariſes another misfortune. For you know *miniſters muſt be ſupported*; and if they monopolize all the old places to themſelves, they muſt create ſo many more new places for their dependants. Thus we find, that inſtead of two Secretaries of State, we have three: all *principal Secretaries of State*, though one of them, forſooth, is hardly permitted to ſign his name to a warrant of any deſcription, unleſs it be to arreſt a Jacobinical fellow for high treaſon, without permiſſion from his high and mighty maſter and coadjutor, Dundas.

As to the creation of leſſer places, it were in vain to enumerate theſe—Boards of Controul, Offices of *Police*, and Boards of Agriculture, with ſalaries for apoſtate ſecretaries; and I know not what. I will refer you, however, for an inſtance to the Tower, where if you ſhould have the good fortune to experience the ſame opportunities of information that I have had, you may learn, that in conſequence of the œconomical arrangements of that great reformer, the Duke of Richmond, wherever there are three labourers doing any ſort of work, there are always ſix clerks to ſee that they do it.

I beg

—I beg pardon, Citizens, I have been guilty of a ſlight inaccuracy in this ſtatement: the language of the Tower is, that wherever there are three labourers doing *nothing*, there muſt always be ſix clerks to ſee that it is done. Then we muſt take into conſideration, alſo, the increaſe of penſions and ſecret ſervice money; and the compromiſes which the miniſtry coming in always makes with the miniſtry going out. Once it was thought ſufficient, when one ſet of rogues—I beg your pardon—I meant to ſay miniſters went out, for the other ſet who came in to promiſe them indemnity; and that they would not impeach them, and bring them to the block. But now, indemnity! they will ſay with a ſneer—indemnity! holding their hands behind them as they retire—I muſt have ſomething beſides indemnity, or I will become ſo flaming a Patriot, I will not only oppoſe your meaſures, but blow up the whole ſyſtem—let the people into the ſecrets of office, and make your places not worth your holding. Your contracts, your monopolies, your diſcounts upon ſubſidies, your penſions from foreign Courts, all ſhall be expoſed.—Indemnity, indeed! I ſay indemnity! Give me a good penſion, and I will oppoſe you only in a parliamentary way. But if you do'nt, take care of me, I ſhall grow deſperate, and

> "Let in the light to Pluto's drear abodes,
> "Abhorr'd by men, and hateful e'en to Gods."

If you want authority for all this, I refer you to Fitzwilliam's letters; and if he does not ſay the ſame thing in other words, I have no wit in decyphering the courtly character.

That this inordinate growth of corruption is the ſpring and fountain head of all our calamities cannot be doubted: for it is clear and evident that this corruption, as it leads to waſte, extravagance, and diſſipation, as it leads to the decreaſe of productive labour, and an increaſe of thoſe inordinate burthens and taxes that conſume the profits of productive labour, muſt tend to increaſe the price of the neceſſaries of life.

For evils like theſe, where ſhall we ſeek for redreſs? From tumult and violence? From deſtroying market houſes, and breaking open the ſhops of butchers and bakers? fie, fie, fie! Can imagination be ſo dull as to ſuppoſe that outrage and tumult can redreſs calamities ſo enormous. A little partial evil may, perhaps, ſometimes get redreſs from theſe criminal exertions; but calamities ſo great require the peaceful but determined energies of the national mind!—A loud, a fervid, and reſolute remonſtrance with our rulers. And a union and

aſſociation among ourſelves that may command the reſpect of thoſe, who have the boldneſs to deſpiſe our individual efforts. We muſt lay the axe deep to the root of the evil, and not ſuffer our attention to be diverted by tearing the leſſer branches. The plain and ſimple fact is, that the happineſs of the lower and middling orders of ſociety, (for let us not be ſo deluded as to ſuppoſe, that the lower orders can be oppreſſed and the middle orders not feel the oppreſſion!) the great body of the people are neglected, becauſe the great body of the people are not repreſented in the legiſlature; and thoſe who make the laws are not at all dependent upon their favour or approbation.

If you will have redreſs, ſeek it quietly, but ſeek it firmly. Redreſs the evils of corruption, by reforming the ſource of corruption.

There is no redreſs for a country ſituated as we are, but by reſtoring to the people their right of univerſal ſuffrage and annual parliaments: rights which nature dictates, and which no law can take away: rights which the conſtitution of this country has ſtamped with approbation; and which, if we wiſh for happineſs and proſperity, we muſt ſeek to reſtore: for the plain and ſimple fact cannot be more concileſy expreſſed, than in thoſe words in which I have ſo often repeated it, that "there is no redreſs for a country ſituated as we are, but "from a fair, full, and equal repreſentation of the people in "the Commons Houſe of Parliament."

[PRICE FOURPENCE.]

*** No. XIX. containing the Lecture "On Barracks and Fortifications, with ſketches on the character and treatment of the Britiſh Soldiery," will be publiſhed Saturday the 22d of Auguſt.

THE

THE HAMLET.

(FROM THE PERIPATETIC.)

O! how ſweet at the hour when, deep-bluſhing, appears
The ſun's ſwelling orb at the brink of the ſky,
And Eve, penſive Eve, bathes the vale with her tears,
And Zephyr, ſad Zephyr, expires in a ſigh—
O! how ſweet at this hour, when half-wearied with toil,
And each kind emotion awak'd in the breaſt
That Heav'n's varied bounties and Nature's gay ſmile
Ere ſtamp'd on the mind that by Fancy is bleſt—
O! how ſweet, at this hour, on the brow of ſome hill,
By ſide the clear brook, or embower'd in the vale,
Directed, perhaps, by the clack of the mill,
Or Milkmaid's blithe carol, who ſings o'er her pail,
To approach the lone hamlet, our labours to cloſe,
And ſhare the tir'd peaſant's contented repoſe!

O! how ſweet, when each warbler that trill'd from the ſpray,
Or to Heav'n's azure concave with rapture aſpir'd
(The tir'd pinion relax'd, huſh'd in ſilence the lay)
To the grove's covert ſhade with his mate has retir'd:
How ſweet, as around every cottage they play,
(As you wind thro' the lane or the meadow) to hear
The rude ruddy infants attune the wild lay!—
What chorus ſo ſweet to Humanity's ear?
—Sport on, thoughtleſs babes! ah, yet ſport and be gay,
Enjoy the ſhort rapture, and hail the bright glow!
Nor reflect ('twere in vain) on the heels of the day
Tread Night and her ſhadows—tread Manhood and Woe!
Ah! too near is the time that your ſorrow aſſures—
When toil and Affliction alone ſhall be yours!

But ſee from the furrow, the glebe, and the plough,
The peaſants return with the toil-ſullied brow:
To their reſt they return, to their ſcanty repaſt;
For the hour of refreſhment relieves them at laſt.
As hither with toil-wearied ſteps they repair,
Hark what liſps and what ſhouts their loud welcome declare;
While, their ſports broken off, how the innocents fly,
And claſp each hard hand with a tranſport of joy;
Or hang by the coat, as around them they throng,
And lend their ſmall efforts to drag them along.
Each grief theſe endearments from memory blot,
And the cares of the day, and its toils are forgot;
Till again to their dames, o'er their ſcantling of ale,
As they eat their brown bread, they ſupply the ſhort tale:
Then to bed they retire, their adventures to cloſe,
To taſte (be they ſweet!) the ſhort boons of repoſe;
While the wealthy and proud in mad riot and joy
The fruits of their labour and hardſhips deſtroy,

Now

Now ſilence ſucceeds to the buſtle of day,
And the Moon's ſilver orb to the Sun's ruddy beam;
Awhile thro' the dews let me penſively ſtray,
And indulge ſoothing Fancy awhile in her dream.
While the Nightingale trills, your ſweet minſtrel divine!
Let me pierce, O ye Fays! your ſequeſter'd retreat;
With your Shakeſpeare, your Colins, your Fletcher recline;
Your revels enjoy, and your fables repeat.
Ah, why are ye fled, gentle Fays! from the Muſe,
Whoſe ſongs ye adorn'd, and whoſe leſſons improv'd?
Are ye ſcar'd that ſtern critics their ſanction refuſe?—
Dull ſpectres of Night by malignity mov'd!
Ah, ſcorn their dark malice, renew the wild ſtrain;
And give us our Fletchers and Shakeſpeares again.

Such—ſuch are my joys, in lone hamlet retir'd,
When the toil of the day, and its pleaſures are o'er.—
Or, perhaps, with the throng by *rude Nature* inſpir'd
I ſhare the blithe cup, and their feelings explore.
Ah! little ye know, who, envelop'd by pride,
Alone the dull paſtimes of Grandeur behold,
What life, and what fancy, and humour reſide
In theſe circles of Mirth by no Faſhion control'd.
How oft have I ſmil'd ('twas the ſmile of the heart,
Not the ſimper of Form, by Hypocriſy taught;
The maſk of dull Cuſtom, the effort of Art
To eſcape, but in vain, from the torture of Thought.)
How oft have I ſmil'd, their ſhrewd maxims to hear,
And ſee the ſtrong traits of wild Nature appear!

Let the proud and the weak, then, the dull and the great,
Who loll in their coaches in indolent ſtate,
Who idle at home, but for idleneſs ſtray,
And abroad only prize what's at home every day—
Let to theſe the proud inn yield its ſplendour and down,
And the Country repeat the dull pleaſures of Town.
Let me, whom each pleaſure eccentric can move,
Who would travel to *know* and would live to *improve*,
When at eve my tir'd limbs relaxation require,
To ſome ſnug little thatch, in ſome hamlet, retire;
Where, the cravings of Nature content to ſupply,
I may hear, or may join in the hind's ruſtic joy—
May Man in his varied conditions compare,
And learn the hard lot which too many muſt bear;
That thus as with all I alternately blend,
The *mind* may expand, and the *heart* may amend;
Till embracing Mankind in one girdle of Love,
In Nature's kind leſſon I daily improve,
And (no haughty diſtinctions to fetter my ſoul)
As the brother of all, learn to feel for the whole.

THE TRIBUNE. N°. XIX.

THE LECTURE "*On* BARRACKS *and* FORTI-
" FICATIONS; *with ſketches of the character*
" *and treatment of the* BRITISH SOLDIERY."
delivered Wedneſday, June 10th, 1795.

CITIZENS,

THE ſubject that claims your attention this evening is the modern Miniſterial rage for Barracks and Fortifications; with ſketches of the character and treatment of the Britiſh Soldiery; and an enquiry into the genuine modes of national defence.

At the very outſet of the conſideration of this ſubject, it naturally ſuggeſts itſelf to us to enquire, *What are the real characteriſtics of the Britiſh nation?* and what have been the means and ſources of her former ſtrength and greatneſs? If we look to hiſtory we ſhall find, that the ſtrength and grandeur of this country has always depended, not upon its military force, but upon its navy; and, if we enquire a little further, we ſhall be diſpoſed to conſider, that this circumſtance does not depend upon any thing peculiar in the character of the Britiſh people,—not upon any difference in the original conformation of Engliſhmen, from the conformation of men of other nations:—for the plain and ſimple fact is, however hiſtorians may attempt to ſeduce us into a contrary belief, that Britons are but men, and that the inhabitants of all other countries are to be conſidered as men alſo, partaking of the ſame common nature, feelings, capacities, affections, and powers of mind and body: that they are, in fact, of one and the ſame family; and bound therefore by the ſame univerſal laws of nature and affection. We muſt look then not to the conformation of the Britiſh mind, nor to the conformation of the bodily conſtitution of Britons, for any thing either glorious or cenſurable, in the former hiſtory of Britain; but we muſt look to the circumſtances in which the country has been placed, either with reſpect to its natural ſituation, inſtitutions

of Goverment, or caſual introduction of information and ſcience for any differences of character or conduct among the people of this nation.

The plain and ſimple fact then is, that our ſituation in the univerſe has pointed out to us the peculiar character we ought to be moſt anxious to cultivate, both as to our peaceable purſuits, and the vindication of our rights againſt external foes.

Other countries, which form a part of the Continent, are, from the very nature of their ſituation, compelled to cultivate the military ſcience: becauſe they are, at all times, open to attacks from neighbouring enemies; and if they had not that martial characteriſtic among them, which enables them to defend their frontiers, the imaginary lines that may be drawn upon a map, or thoſe more important barriers erected by the profeſſors of tactics would but ill defend them againſt the ambition of conqueſt and dominion, ſo long as the preſent miſchievous ſyſtem, begot in Courts, and nurtured by miniſterial intrigue, the ſyſtem of war, ſhall continue to curſe and torment the univerſe.

Happily for this country (had Miniſters underſtood its happineſs) we are ſituated in a different manner. The ocean has formed a rampart, more powerful than alps and fortreſſes, to defend us from thoſe hoſtile attacks to which other nations are ſubjected; and thus has ſeparated us, if we were wiſe enough to make uſe of the advantage, from the broils and politics of the other nations of Europe.

What a ſource of happineſs does this offer to us! and how madly have we daſhed the cup of felicity from our lips, and drained the bitter draught of voluntary miſery even to the very dregs!

Certainly there is no country in Europe that has ſo excellent an opportunity of keeping itſelf perpetually at peace, as Britain; no country ſo little concerned in the phantaſtic *balance of power*; no nation that has had ſo few real occaſions to ſee her children orphans in the ſtreets, and her widows lamenting their huſbands ſlain in the field of battle. Unfortunately, however, the country beſt calculated to remain in eternal peace, has not only been the moſt ſignal for frequent wars; but, from a deſtructive ambition reigning in her Court, and a melancholy defect in her inſtitutions, which enables her Miniſters to profit moſt when havoc and uproar rage with the greateſt fury, has too frequently been the cauſe of provoking war throughout the univerſe; and keeping Europe, Aſia, and

and the Weſt, in one continued ſtrife of carnage and deſolation.

This conduct, with reſpect to *the people*, who have been made ſubſervient to it, may, perhaps, in ſome degree be accounted for from one of the worſt diſpoſitions that degrades the human character—a dipoſition to be indifferent to thoſe calamities from which, by perſonal ſituation, we are ourſelves ſecured.

Theſe ramparts, raiſed by the billows of the ocean, have rendered us ſtrangers, as it were, to the real calamities of war. We feel the burdens of taxation, it is true; and we feel them at this time cold and heavy, almoſt, as the iron hand of death, ready to cruſh us into non-exiſtence. But we do not behold thoſe ravages which other countries frequently experience. Our "burning villages do not light us in many a midnight march;" nor does "trenching war chan-"nel our fields, nor bruiſe our flowerets with the armed "hoofs of hoſtile paces." The fields cultivated for our ſupport, are not laid waſte by thoſe aggreſſions that have reduced many parts of the Continent to worſe than deſerts.—Unfortunately for mankind,—nay permit me to ſay, and even for ourſelves, we are too little acquainted with the real miſchiefs produced by this ſyſtem of war we are ſo fond of; and, remaining ſecure at home—that is to ſay—our ſtateſmen, ariſtocrats, and rich traders, remaining ſecure at home, and partaking of no part of the danger, ſend their fellow citizens, without remorſe, to be butchered in foreign climes, and to ſpread over other nations that devaſtation from which this country has, *hitherto*, been happily ſecured.

But let us not deceive ourſelves: We no longer can remain ſecure, if we perſiſt in this ſcheme of frantic ambition, which muſt ultimately bring upon us the juſt hatred and deteſtation of the world. Proud of our ſituation; unfeeling, alike from this pride, and from this happineſs, we have arrogated to ourſelves a ridiculous dominion over the ocean: forgetting that firſt great principle of juſtice, that the bounty which reſults from no man's labour, that bounty which never can be exhauſted, but offers a peaceful and eternal ſource of wealth to all mankind, never, as Gregoire has obſerved in his excellent report on the rights of nations, never can be the property of any man or any nation. It is a common good owing its exiſtence and its advantages to no one. It is therefore, the common inheritance of all the children of nature;

ture; and we muſt prove that the inhabitants of other parts of the univerſe are not men, or we can have no right to arrogate to ourſelves the excluſive poſſeſſion of this grand and magnificent inheritance.

But thus arrogating to ourſelves the dominion of the ocean, we have not been ſatisfied with the fruits which that dominion gives. It is the natural tendency of all evil paſſions, when once gratified, to ſtimulate freſh deſires ſtill more vicious and inordinate. Thoſe who have obtained a monopoly of any kind, and perſuaded themſelves that it is their right, graſp immediately at a ſtill wider monopoly, and ſoon perſuade themſelves that the univerſe itſelf was made for them.

Not ſatisfied with the empire of the ocean, the Indies muſt be ſubjugated to our mercantile ambition; the weſtern world muſt yield its neck to the yoke of Britiſh uſurpation; and Africa muſt be depopulated, and her ſooty ſons, loaded with chains and fetters, muſt cultivate for us thoſe luxuries which have, in reality, undermined our independence, and ſapped that energy of ſoul which can only be cheriſhed by ſimplicity and virtue.

Theſe undertakings have been but too ſucceſsful in the eyes of Courts and Miniſters. They have, it is true, increaſed the miſery of the lower orders of ſociety! they have added to the burdens of the great maſs of the people! (an opinion to illuſtrate which I need only appeal to the hiſtorical fact, quoted in my Lectures on the Dearneſs and Scarcity of Proviſions, that a larger quantity of the enjoyments of life were formerly procured by a ſmaller proportion of labour)—they have driven the multitude to a lower ſtate of miſery! but they have increaſed the dominion, patronage, and grandeur of office; they have increaſed the proſperity and monopoly of a few great families who have riſen to power and opulence by the pillage of the nation!

Yes, by theſe great and glorious exploits, tho' the people are ſhrinking in bonds and wretchedneſs, they have increaſed *this* grandeur and proſperity; and have enabled the individuals, thus advanced, to lay additional weights and reſtrictions upon thoſe people; who, but for this ridiculous pomp of patronage, might be enabled, with bold independence, to lift up their heads and, to the front of grandeur and oppreſſion proclaim, We are your equals, as individual men; as an aggregate body, we are your ſuperiors; and you who call yourſelves

our

our maſters, are ſervants, whoſe duty it is to adminiſter to our happineſs. It is for this you are paid; for this you are ſupported in ſtate and luxury; for this that every labourer among us, even to the loweſt drudge, whom you have the inſolence to deſpiſe, contents to beſtow upon you a part of *that property which his toil has created.*

Theſe fatal ſucceſſes alſo have begot a luſt of dominion in the country, which is, unfortunately, too generally felt even by the great maſs of the people, to whom its fruit is nothing but increaſe of ſlavery. Hence the poor wretch ſhivering in nakedneſs, hence the poor ſoldier, who toils and bleeds for a ſcanty maintenance, talks of the glory and grandeur of his country—talks of foreign conqueſts and great exploits, without remembering that the only advantages to him are wounds and diſeaſe; a family left to beggary, and himſelf an outcaſt from that ſociety of which he ought to be a member; and which, while he thinks he is protecting it, he is aſſiſting to enſlave and ruin.

Citizens, It is in vain that we attempt to diſguiſe the truth. We may dreſs our opinions in as many pompous ornaments as we pleaſe; but theſe attempts at external grandeur, ſo much beyond the inherent ſtrength and powers of the nation, muſt beget, and have begot—internal weakneſs. Hence we no longer feel that bold and manly conſequence, which occaſioned Britons once to ſuppoſe, that their fleets were their only bulwarks, and their breaſts, burning with the enthuſiaſm of liberty and independence, the only fortifications neceſſary to ſecure this country, and protect its liberty and its proſperity. Feeling this internal weakneſs, but unwilling to confeſs it, our Miniſters have at once amuſed, and abuſed with a heap of ridiculous plans and projects, to ſupply, by adventitious aid, that which can only depend upon the internal virtues of the ſoul. Hence the *Duke of Richmond's* ridiculous project of building fortifications all round the coaſt; and thus walling out the ocean, I ſuppoſe: for the ocean is the only enemy that walls of earth and ſtone can keep away. To think of protecting the country by theſe caſtles built with cards—for card caſtles would be of as much importance as the caſtles his Grace of Richmond has planned. To expect, by theſe ridiculous, weak, expiring expedients, to protect a country which once looked to its own heart for its protection, and wiſhed for no vigour and no energy but that which the honeſt feelings of independence could impart to its martial arm. To think, I ſay, of prolonging the exiſtence of ſuch

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a country, by ſuch means, ſhews that the diſeaſe is not merely corporeal; that the nobler parts have yielded to the aſſault: and that the intellects are as much enfeebled as the fibre.

You remember, Citizens, that this plan of general fortification was rejected by the caſting vote of the Speaker.—With one puff of air he blew down all the fine projects which his Grace had ſo long been forming; the paſteboard machinery ſunk thro' the trap doors of St. Stephen's Theatre, and lo and behold, the ſcene in the pantomime being changed, you were preſented with the comic ſpectacle of my Uncle Toby, with his crutch upon his ſhoulder, exerciſing his imaginary troops, and ſtorming ideal caſtles upon his Bowling Green.

But the noble projector was not thus to be diſappointed. Though the Parliament had rejected his plan for a general fortification—and it is a woeful picture of the energy and virtue of that Parliament, to reflect that it was only rejected by a caſting voice! Though thus rejected, he knew that there was another aſſembly, which was not always known, it is true, to have the power of adopting, in parties, what the Parliament had in toto rejected, but in which no majority would oppoſe him, where it was propoſed that he ſhould try his hand upon a narrower ſcale.

Unanimity—unanimity, you know, is the favorite maxim of Cabinets; and they would be unfit to ſhare the power and the patronage of a great nation, who would quarrel among themſelves about ſuch a trifling circumſtance as the expenditure of a few millions of the public money. They ſaw that the poor man had fixed his heart upon it, and ſo, leſt he ſhould take on and fret himſelf about it, they even ſaddled his hobby-horſe, *at the public expence*, and let him canter away at his pleaſure.

Fortifications have accordingly ſtarted up all over the country: particularly at Portſmouth; where any man who has the diſpoſition, and an hour or two's leiſure, may have as fine an opportunity of laughing at the expenſive abſurdities with which his Grace has choſen to ſaddle the nation, as any man who wiſhes to amuſe himſelf at his own coſt could deſire. There you may behold immenſe fortifications, which muſt have coſt millions of money, ſo magnificent and ſo capacious, that all the troops in Britiſh pay would not be numerous enough to man them. There you may behold portholes ſtopped up with cannon placed behind them, and portholes that are open without any cannon at all.

But

But, Citizens, how comes it that theſe great projects are thus neglected? Is it that his Grace of Richmond and his fortifications are now the common jeſt of all the country, and that the people, in their riſibility, forget the millions upon millions which they have paid for the ſupport of them, and for which they pay a dearer price for the bread that goes into their mouths for the meat that ſhould ſupply the ſtrength and vigour for their frame?—Surely we cannot ſuſpect any part of the Britiſh Cabinet of ſuch weakneſs as attending either to the ridicule, or the complaints of the ſwiniſh multitude? How comes it then that theſe great projects have been neglected? Certainly this does not ariſe from his Grace having been—I was going to ſay drummed out of the miniſterial regiment—but it matters not in what ſort of manner I deſcribe it—from his Grace being no longer in that place of power which he formerly filled with ſo much luſtre—a luſtre which nothing but the wiſdom and virtue of his firſt female progenitor could outvie. This I ſay is not the cauſe, for this neglect began to be conſpicuous before his Grace had thought of reſigning his poſt.

The fact is, that internal danger called off the attention of his Grace from the external means of defence; and he was obliged to neglect the fortifications at Portſmouth, to direct the whole energies of his powerful mind towards ſecuring and fortifying the Tower of London, in which, by a ſort of divine forecaſt, he perceived that Traitors of a moſt dangerous deſcription were by and by to be concealed. And as he knew very well that nothing but ſtrong fortification could reſiſt the furious aſſaults of Conventional Reformers, he made the Baſtille of London ſo ſtrong that it would now almoſt reſiſt an army of eight and forty bridewell boys for eight and forty hours.

Yes, Citizens, from ſapient projects of external ſecurity, miniſterial attention was called to the dangerous perils that threatened the internal ſafety of THEIR conſtitution. Places and penſions were declared in a ſtate of ſiege. Sinecures, honours, and emoluments were likely to be invaded; the fortifications of patronage and corruption were like to have been thrown down. The coronet ſeemed to totter upon the empty head, and the ſtar to tremble at the hollow heart. To avert theſe horrors—to reſiſt this danger, his Grace of Richmond and his coadjutors haſtened with patriotic zeal, and Portſmouth and its fortifications were left to finiſh and defend themſelves.

New

New dangers require new means of ſecurity. And barracks were now to be every were erected, in which the ſoldiery, ſhut up out of the hearing of the profane jargon of jacobinical reformers, may repoſe in eaſe and quiet; and be ſtarved for want of that aſſiſtance from the great maſs of the people which they might otherwiſe derive.

But, Citizens, I will venture to prophecy, that of all the projects of the preſent adminiſtration, and ſurely no adminiſtration was ever more fruitful of projects of a particular deſcription, there never was one ſo fraught with danger to the peace, liberty, and happineſs of the country—there never was one ſo replete with unconſtitutional violations of every principle that has long been dear to this country, as this of burying the Britiſh Soldiery alive in Barracks: the alarming attempt to ſeparate the ſoldiery from that maſs of fellow citizens of whom they are a part; to whom they are allied; and whom it is their duty to protect in the full enjoyment of their liberty and happineſs, and not to be made the inſtruments of their oppreſſion and ruin. But the honeſt ſoldiery of Britain will not be ſo deluded. Duty, generous affection—intereſt alike forbid it: for if the people are ruined and oppreſſed, what are the ſoldiery but a part of the people? Their ruin, their oppreſſion, their miſery muſt be the conſequence; with the aggravated horror of reflecting that, by ſecuring the miſery of their fellow citizens, they have paved the way to their own chains and deſtruction. Will they conſent to forge baſe fetters for their free-born countrymen; and then, for their reward, like the military machines of German Deſpots, be ſold like beaſts in the public market, and hired out like aſſaſſins to deeds of murder, for the benefit of a lawleſs Court.

Citizens, you will remember—every individual acquainted with the hiſtory of the country will remember, the precautions taken by our anceſtors, to prevent the poſſibility of a ſeparation of intereſts and feelings between the ſoldiery and the great maſs of the people. One of the precautions to prevent this, and to preſerve a perpetual remembrance that every ſoldier is in reality a citizen, and that it is the country he is to defend, and not two or three people of high rank and office, who too frequently ſend this ſoldiery to be butchered, to promote their ambition—one of theſe jealous precautions was the total preclusion of a ſtanding army. I ſay the total preclusion of a ſtanding army: for I mean boldly to aſſert, for I am ready to prove, that a ſtanding army is not only no

part

part of the conſtitution, but it is a direct violation of that conſtitution. And mark, by a ſtanding army of this country, I mean an army of individuals, who, having once received the pay of Government, are therefore conſidered as having become ſlaves for life; without the power of ever laying down their arms again, if they wiſh to withdraw from the profeſſion; and without a power in the people to diſband them, whenever the termination of war renders it no longer neceſſary that their occupation ſhould be continued; and to reſtore them, with proper reward, with affection, thanks, and eſteem, into the boſoms of their friends and families.

To preclude the neceſſity of this ſtanding army, it will be remembered, that an expedient of the utmoſt wiſdom and propriety was invented; that of arming a certain proportion, or, upon occaſion, the whole inhabitants of the country, under the denomination of a militia: an army which was always within the controul of the people; whoſe officers were originally appointed by the diſtricts in which they were raiſed, and who thereby became the ſoldiers of the people, and not the ſoldiers of the Court. When men are the ſoldiers of the people, they will defend the people; when they are the ſoldiers of the Court, the Court will attempt to perſuade them that they have an intereſt ſeparate from the people; and therefore liberty cannot be ſecured in ſo firm a manner, in any other way, as by arming the people themſelves, alternately, man after man, every one taking his ſhare of the riſk and burthen, to defend the great intereſts of the people. Thus, by diſmiſſing them in their turns, to mix with that body of the people, whom they have at one time ſtepped forward to defend, and taking others to be trained to the uſe of arms, you in a conſiderable degree, at the ſame time that you take care that every ſoldier ſhall be a citizen, make every citizen a ſoldier. That is, you teach every man the uſe of arms: and every man being equally able to defend himſelf, it will be impoſſible for any faction, either of clubs which deſigning alarmiſts pretend to dread, or borough-mongers which the nation at large has ſo much reaſon to dread, to over-awe the honeſt majority of the nation. By this means, alſo, you prevent thoſe ſcenes of deſolation, with which the ſtruggles of the people, to get rid of tyranny, is at all times ſure to be attended.

Citizens, it is impoſſible to be blind to the great conſequences that reſult from this ſyſtem. It is impoſſible to avoid ſeeing, that every ſoldier, being only a ſoldier for a time, muſt have a common intereſt with the people: It is impoſſible

to avoid ſeeing, that, by this means, every citizen will alternately ſtand a chance of procuring a knowledge of the uſe of arms. And, on the other hand, that it will be impoſſible for any ſeparate faction to trample upon the rights and happineſs of the great body of the people. But there is another thing of great conſequence and importance, relative to this part of the argument, which may, perhaps, command, and which certainly ought to command, the attention of Miniſters. It is impoſſible to avoid ſeeing, that, by adopting theſe means, you are in reality more ſecure from foreign invaſion, than you can be from any ſtanding army: becauſe, then, the whole body of the people become ſoldiers, and every individual is ready and able to ſtep forward to the frontiers, and expoſe his boſom againſt thoſe who attempt to invade his country, to pillage his little property, and to deſtroy thoſe comforts which his uſeful induſtry has procured for himſelf and family.

But, if we purſue the thread of hiſtory, we ſhall find that the Houſe of Stuart, particularly after their *diſgraceful reſtoration*, contributed, in a very conſiderable degree, to the invaſion of this great ſecurity of conſtitutional liberty. That is to ſay, when this country was unfortunately ſtruck with ſuch blindneſs and infatuation, as to reſtore Charles II. to that abſolute dominion, for uſurping which they had juſtly deprived his father Charles I. of his life, that profligate tyrant ſeeing that deſpotiſm was no way to be attained, but by rendering a ſmall part of the people capable of coercing the great body; ſeeing that it was impoſſible to perſuade the great majority of the country to ſurrender their liberties, but that he muſt work his way by a minority, he took precautions to eſtabliſh a ſtanding army: that is to ſay, he took certain citizens from out of the great maſs of the people, ſtript them of their liberty, ſtript them of their right of free agency, ſtript them of the power of returning to their families, and living in peace, tranquillity and eaſe, and thus (from the ſcanty pay which he took care to give them—much better, however, proportionately, than they receive now) keeping them in a ſtate of dependency upon his *bounty*, made them fit inſtruments of whatever oppreſſion he might think fit to exerciſe againſt *his* people.

Unfortunately, at the time of the Revolution, the liberties of this country (ſuch was the degraded ſituation of Britain!) were thought not any longer capable of being ſecured by the arms of the people alone; and therefore the Whigs and the

Tories

Tories coaleſced together, and brought over a foreign King, protected by a foreign army, and thus, in reality, foiſted a band of mercenaries upon the nation; who, however good, however excellent the cauſe in which they were brought, were, notwithſtanding that, ſtill to be conſidered with a jealous eye, as being mercenaries; and to be conſidered as having, in ſome degree, the power of treating us like a conquered people; tho', from the principles upon which this Revolution was ſaid to have been conducted, it ought certainly to have eſtabliſhed our liberties upon ſuch broad and general principles, as to have reſtored the people to the right and honour of defending themſelves, and to have ſtripped all mercenaries of the power of daring to interfere with the concerns of this powerful nation.

Citizens, it is impoſſible to do juſtice, by way of digreſſion, to the innumerable miſchiefs that reſult from the interference of any foreign power in the concerns of any nation. There is nothing ſo diabolical in the whole ſyſtem of Machiavelian politics, as the attempt of one country to interfere with the internal concerns of another. If the people are diſpoſed to change and alter the mode of their government, or to alter the dynaſty of their Kings, they have a right ſo to do. And if they are diſpoſed unanimouſly, or by a great majority ſo to do, they have the power of doing it. But no party or ſet of men ought to attempt to enforce any change or alteration upon the people, which the people are not, by a decided majority, inclined to adopt. Here, therefore, is one evil, that muſt neceſſarily reſult from any revolution effected by foreign arms, that you never know, in the firſt place, whether it is the revolution of a faction, or the revolution of the great body of the people; and, in the next place, it is ſure to be accompanied with a degree of undue, and undefined power, produced by mercenary coercion, which is eminently injurious to that large and liberal principle of liberty, which the progreſs of reaſon, and the enlightened ſpirit of a nation will be able to procure, when no foreign interference is courted, or permitted.

This was particularly the caſe with reſpect to the event I am now ſpeaking of. And William III. having been ſeated on the throne by a foreign force, and having parted with his Dutch Guards, not without exclaiming, "By God if I had "a ſon theſe guards ſhould not be ſent back;" took the opportunity which the ambiguous circumſtances of this revolution afforded to fortify his authority by a ſtanding army:

and thus, one of the firſt fruits of this *glorious Revolution* was the eſtabliſhment of a ſtanding army, more numerous than the Stewarts themſelves had ever upheld.

But we have not got to the end of the chapter yet. The invaſion of the conſtitutional rights of the people, by a ſtanding army, was in the firſt inſtance ſmall; and it was found neceſſary not only to extend this military eſtabliſhment, but alſo to oppreſs the poor ſoldiers, who were to be the inſtruments of thoſe perſons, before the grand views and objects of courts could be well effected. Accordingly, in the reign of Queen *Anne*, when a very large increaſe took place in the military eſtabliſhment, an alteration alſo took place which ſtripped the poor ſoldiery of a conſiderable portion of their pay.

I ſhall illuſtrate this by facts. Previous to that increaſe of the military eſtabliſhment, the principal offices in the army had been rather poſts of honour than emolument; rather places of truſt and dignity than places that ſecured to the individual an increaſe of patronage; and thereby rendered him at once more inclined to be ſervile and cringing to the power above him, and more capable of reducing thoſe below him, to a ſtate of abject terror and dependence.

But when this increaſe of the eſtabliſhment took place, the Colonels who uſed to advance money out of their own pockets, that they might occaſion the ſoldiers to be better dreſſed and provided for, and to make a more comfortable and more reſpectable appearance in the eyes of their fellow citizens—the Colonels thought that this was a practice they might very well lay aſide; and inſtead of putting themſelves to expence, in order to increaſe the comforts of the common ſoldiers, they began very ſeriouſly to reflect by what means they could turn the pay of the common ſoldiers to their own intereſt and advantage: how they might bring money into their pockets, inſtead of ſending it out of them. Accordingly we find that, from this time, a regular ſtoppage was made out of the pay of the ſoldiery, at the rate of 2d. per day, which amounted to 3l. 0s. 10d. per year, for the article of cloathing.

Now, Citizens, I have been informed by a perſon who has very conſiderable concerns in thoſe trades which interfere with the cloathing of the ſoldiery, that out of this 3l. 0s 10d. per year, which is ſtopped out of the ſoldier's pay, there is, in reality, never more expended than from 40s. to 45s. per year: ſo that the Colonel, out of the pay of every man, under

der pretence of cloathing him, gets, in reality, what may be called *fleecing money*, to the amount of 15s. per year; which, taking 700 ſoldiers to a regiment, amounts to 525l. a year, ſheered from the backs of the poor ſoldier, in addition to that enormous pay which he receives as Colonel; and which ought, undoubtedly, to be conſidered only as a proper reward for the dignity and advantage which a man of *birth* and *condition* in life confers upon the army of this country, by exhibiting his fine perſon before it three or four times in a year, in a ſuit of gold laced cloaths of the fineſt ſcarlet.

But the peculation does not ſtop here. For mark the growth of corruption! Corruption is a towering weed. It is, in ſhort, that grain of muſtard ſeed, often talked of but never before underſtood, which, once dropped upon any ſoil becomes a towering tree, and the birds of the air and the beaſts of the field, (prieſts, miniſters, and penſioners—all animals of prey) take ſhelter under its foliage. Corruption having riſen to this height, ſoon ſpreads to a more conſiderable degree. For if you look through the roll of the army, and examine the ſituations, and the additions of rank added to the name of every Colonel in the army, you will find very few Colonels but what have alſo other appointments in the army, of ſtill higher rank and dignity: either as Generals or Major-Generals, or ſome other diſtinction of honour and emolument.

This, in reality, reduces the Colonel of the Regiment to a mere ſinecure officer: a perſon receiving a certain pay, for no other ſervice than that of bearing the title to which that pay is annexed; and giving himſelf the trouble to *ſend* to the proper place for receiving the money when it becomes due; for there is a ſort of etiquette in the army, which ordains that no officer, who holds an appointment of ſuperior rank, ſhall ever perform any duty in the inferior rank: and though a man is both General and Colonel, *at the pay-office*, yet his rank as General precludes him from doing any duty as Colonel in the field, or on the parade:—Ergo, the Colonel is a uſeleſs office in the army; becauſe the ſuppoſed duties of that office are performed by other perſons, bearing titles of leſs dignity; and receiving their pay according to that inferior ſtation. Thus, in reality, the whole ſervice that the Colonel renders to his country, for his pay, and for this 525l. a year, fleeced from the backs of the ſoldiers; is no other than ſtalking about with all the pageantry of military authhority, and ornamenting an aſſembly or a levee with his cockade and ſword.

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But, Citizens, I have not yet got to the end, even of that ſmall portion of facts, relative to the unjuſt and cruel peculations committed upon our brave ſoldiers, which have come to my knowledge. One of the advantages reſulting from a *Commons Houſe of Parliament*, by whomſoever it may be bought, or by whomſoever it may be ſold; whomſoever it may repreſent, or whomſoever it may deſpiſe becauſe it does not repreſent them;—one advantage reſulting from ſuch a Houſe of Commons is, that, now and then, in the warmth of thoſe diſputes that ariſe in a ſquabble for places and penſions, indiſcreet individuals, who happen to be charged with more information than they can hold, ſuffer it to boil out in the froth of debate, and the people get, thereby, poſſeſſion of a few facts, of which they would otherwiſe be kept in profound ignorance for ever.

You will remember, ſome time ago, a very pretty pretence that was made, of making an additional proviſion for our gallant ſoldiers. In the debate upon this ſubject it was admitted by Sir George Young (who at preſent does not take much ſhare in the debates of the Houſe of Commons you know; being better employed at the Mint) this Sir George Young was obliged to acknowledge, during the inveſtigation of that ſubject, that there was ſixpence a week ſtopped by the paymaſter, out of the pay of every ſoldier, for neceſſaries; and he, in the courſe of his ſpeech, obſerved, that SOME HOW OR ANOTHER!—for theſe were the words he made uſe of—SOME HOW OR ANOTHER it happened, that this ſixpence a week, ſometimes amounted to eighteen-pence or two ſhillings, ſtopped for neceſſaries to be provided for the ſoldiery.

Now it did ſo happen, that in the whole of *that immaculate Houſe, whoſe virtues, whoſe independence, and whoſe enthuſiaſtic attachment to the people*, we never can ſufficiently admire and reverence!!!—It did ſo happen, that in the whole of that Houſe there was not found one Member ſo metaphyſical (though *metaphyſical Members* we know there are in that Houſe) as to enquire what was the meaning of thoſe words *ſome how or another!* Theſe words ſeemed ſo impoſſible to be underſtood, or the inveſtigation of them ſeemed to be ſo dangerous, that they paſſed them over in ſilence: or, as the good old venerable Dames, who teach ſchool in our little country villages, more technically expreſs it, they *ſkipped it.* "Go "on child—Go on" ſays the Dame. "I ca'nt go on" ſays the boy, "I ca'nt read this word Ma'am"—"Spell it child—

Spell

Spell it."—"I ca'nt ſpell it," ſays the boy—"Why then *ſkip* it, child: mayhap its Latin." So neither the great boys, nor yet the old women in St. Stephen's School, being able either to read or ſpell this *ſome how or another*, or to tell whether it were Latin, Greek, Hebrew, or Eſquimaux, they even *ſkipped* it; and went on to the next verſe; which was a vote of 23,000l. per year, of the public money, to cover the peculation.

Thus, Citizens, you ſee that, reſulting from this ſyſtem of a ſtanding army, independent of its tendency to reduce the great body of the people to an ignorance of the uſe of arms, independent of the circumſtance that it renders one part of the people liable to be called out to deſtroy and trample upon another, independent of the circumſtance that, inſtead of the defence of the nation being veſted in the hands of the nation, the defence of the nation becomes veſted in the hands of the Miniſter, and thereby that which was meant for defence, is frequently made an inſtrument of deſtruction; independent of all this, there is the patronage, there is the corruption, there is the particular emolument reſulting to thoſe who batten upon the plunder of poor beings who toil and ſweat, and bleed for their protection.

Poor, unprotected ſoldiery of Britain! and is it thus you are ſubjected to the dominion of a few beings, far, far leſs worthy than yourſelves, did ye but know your worth? and who treat you as objects whom they are to ſcourge for their caprice or gratification; as objects whom they are to ſtarve for their benefit and advantage; and, having reduced you to their dominion of ſlavery and terror, to make you the objects of terror to others, for the ſecurity of their own aggrandizement and corruptions.

But, Citizens, notwithſtanding all theſe encroachments, there was one great advantage which this country, and the ſoldiery of this country, poſſeſſed till very lately, with reſpect to the military eſtabliſhment. I remember, *Sir William Blackſtone*, the doctrines in whoſe Commentaries were once conſidered as the higheſt pitch of ariſtocratic aſſumption, but which are ſo mild, and moderate, compared with the monſtrous doctrines ſupported by the preſent adminiſtration, that the friends of liberty are now glad to fly for protection under the Tory wing of that Courtly Magiſtrate:—I remember, that this Judge *Blackſtone* exults in his Commentaries, as one of the chief objects of conſtitutional ſecurity, in this country, that though we had a ſtanding army, yet it was not an army of men ſepa-

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rate and diſtinct from the people. It was an army of men who lived among the people; who mixed with the people, who were quartered upon the people; who were, in all reſpects, upon terms of fellowſhip and communion with the people; and that it was totally impoſſible to keep them in ignorance of the general concerns, and intereſts of the nation, or the ſubjects that provoked inveſtigation at the time; becauſe they were not, *like the armies of foreign Deſpots*, ſhut up in barracks, and excluded, in conſequence, from the converſation of their fellow citizens.

But if this was one of the grand conſtitutional boaſts of this country—if Judge *Blackſtone*, in his Commentaries upon the Law of England, laid this down as the grand palladium of the ſecurity of Britiſh liberty, and as the only conſolation for the admiſſion of a ſtanding army among us, what is *Britiſh* liberty at this period?—Look where you will—turn to what part of the nation you think fit—Enquire in this neighbourhood, or the other, eaſt, weſt, north or ſouth, what do you hear, but rumours of erecting barracks?—and levies and contributions, a large part of which muſt be appropriated to the enormous expence of building thoſe Barracks, in which the ſoldiery are to be immured, and in which they are to loſe their ſmall degree of remaining liberty, by being deprived of the opportunity of employing themſelves in their peaceful vocations. They are to be robbed even of that fragment of *loco motive* liberty, which the very brutes in the wilderneſs enjoy without reſtraint:—the right of moving from place to place; the right of turning here or there, even in the intervals of duty, and ſeeking their ſociety among perſons whoſe converſation is agreeable to them, or for whom they have formed an affection or attachment.

One of the ſmalleſt calamities that reſult from this ſyſtem of Barracks, is the increaſed expence to the nation: for every individual muſt ſee that it is impoſſible to maintain an army in Barracks, with the ſame expence as an army may be maintained when at liberty. A large part of the accommodation of the ſoldier, while mixing with the bulk of the people, he derives from thoſe exertions by which he aſſiſts the labours of his fellow citizens and promotes a reciprocation of kind offices. Of this he is entirely robbed; and this muſt be, ſome how or other, ſupplied. It is not then merely the expence of erecting thoſe Baſtilles or Dungeons, that are to confine the degraded and inſulted ſoldiery; they are, alſo, to be maintained at an expence greater, within thoſe dungeons, than that

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at which they might be better maintained in greater liberty, mixing with their fellow citizens, and exchanging good offices with them.

But that expence, grievous and burdenſome as it is, is nothing to the evils reſulting from this ſyſtem. I ſhall not call again to your view the tendency it has to ſeparate the ſoldier from the citizen; but, as a counterpart of this operation, I muſt not notice its tendency to engender a ferocity of diſpoſition: for though ſoldiers are men, and have diſpoſitions no more inclined by nature to rancour than other men, yet, when they are ſhut up with men only whoſe trade (if I may call it ſuch) is death, when they are thus prevented from mixing with the innocent and eſtimable part of the ſofter ſex, and when all the other circumſtances attendant upon ſuch confinement are taken into conſideration, we cannot but dread the production of a degree of ferocity which they would never otherwiſe know.

Thus it is that the regular and orderly Governments of this refined and civilized age, do all they can to change the nature of man into the nature, ferocity, and cruelty of the brute; to tread the light of intellect in the duſt; to drive away from the breaſt of the ſoldier, that milk of human kindneſs which is the greateſt ornament of valour, and to engender in its place the unſociable and ruffian ferocity which diſtinguiſhes the Auſtrian, the Heſſian and Ruſſian barbarians with which Europe has ſo long been ſcourged. Thus it is we level that glorious diſtinction which, till this time, has lifted the Britiſh ſoldiery ſo much above every other ſoldiery of the world, and made them pride themſelves in humanity, as much as valour.

But there is another point of view in which this ſyſtem tends, alſo, to operate againſt the kindneſs and humanity of the ſoldier's breaſt. The ſoldier becomes more oppreſſed; and it is the nature of man to grow cruel by oppreſſion. Witneſs the exceſſes committed in France, exceſſes which could not have exiſted had not the people been ſo long trod under the hoofs of a *ſwiniſh nobility*. I ſay a *ſwiniſh* NOBILITY: for the nobility of France were in reality the true ſwine of Europe. They were the men who, wallowing perpetually in licentiouſneſs, to borrow a metaphor from Shakeſpear, "made their troughs in the embowelled boſoms" of their countrymen; and devoured, or deſtroyed, every thing which ſhould have contributed to the happineſs, the welfare, and glory of the univerſe.

I ſay then, Citizens, by the cruelty and oppreſſion of the ſyſtem of confining the ſoldiery within Barracks, you do that which may tend not only to make them leſs worthy members of ſociety, but to rob them of thoſe comforts, and that happineſs to which they are entitled, and to reduce them to a ſituation of greater miſery than they would otherwiſe have been expoſed to.

By theſe means, perhaps, it is wiſhed to reduce the ſoldiery to a more abject dependence upon the government—to make them believe they have nothing to expect but from the Miniſtry; to teach them to ſuppoſe the people are not their friends; to make an artificial diſtinction between them; and, in a manner, to ſay to them—what do you partake from the people? Is not your pay from us?—Is not your food from us?—Are not the little indulgencies, that we think fit occaſionally, now and then, to extend to you, all from us?—Is it not to us that you owe the ticket by which you are to buy your meat at a cheaper rate than the other citizens—Do not all theſe things come from us?—If the poor ſoldier is ſhut up from all intercourſe with ſociety, they think, perhaps, that he may be diſpoſed to anſwer "*yes.*" But if he goes abroad among his fellow citizens, and receives kindneſs from them, and converſes with them, he will be able to anſwer "*No!* It is from the *peo-*" *ple!* all from the people: all! Nay not only do the peo-" ple pay for our ſupport, not only do the people pay for our " cloathing, but we tell you alſo that the people pay for " your's. Our ſcanty meal, our ſcanty cloathing, is *not an* " *alms received from you.* No: It is a part, and *but a ſmall* " *part*, of that juſt—that liberal and benevolent compenſa-" tion which the people of this country are diſpoſed to ex-" tend towards us; and which, in point of real pay and tax-" ation, they do extend; but which, in paſſing through the " ſieves of Secretaries, Paymaſters, Agents, and Contract-" ors, becomes moſt miſerably diminiſhed before it comes to " us. From them, alſo, you receive your gilded coaches, " that engender your proud diſeaſes both of mind and body; " —from them you receive all your power, your emoluments, " your diſtinctions, and your luxuries: and were it not for " them, you would be leſs than the leaſt of thoſe whom you " pretend to deſpiſe: leſs than the leaſt of us whom you treat " with this inhumanity, and threaten with that ſituation to " which you ſhall never reduce us; becauſe ſoldiers are free-" men, ſoldiers are Britons, and the feelings of humanity ſhall

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" not be torn from our boſoms by all the ſtripes you inflict,
" and the ſeverities of your military tribunals."

Such then are the conſequences of Barracks. They have a tendency to ſeparate the ſoldiery from the people, who are in reality one and the ſame; they have a tendency to increaſe the burdens of the people; they have a tendency to rob the ſoldiery of the greater part of thoſe little comforts which, from the preſent inſtitutions of ſociety, they can expect; they have alſo a tendency to keep up ſuſpicion and diſtruſt; and increaſe the mountebank ſyſtem of alarm, and thus enable the jugglers of the day to play off their tricks with more eclat, and prevent that diſcovery, which, if ever it ſhould take place, may bring them to account, and may compel them to refund the ill gotten wealth extracted from the groans and ruin of the country.

But what are likely to be the conſequences of all this? Has not a ſpirit of enquiry been long abroad? Have not the ſeeds of truth, think you, already fallen upon the ſoldier's minds? Are they the only ſet of men who have not begun to enquire?

Citizens, theſe artifices are vain. I know that ſoldiers have been threatened, and ſometimes actually puniſhed, with dungeons, and kept upon bread and water for reading a patriotic newſpaper. I know that ſome ſoldiers of the Scotch battalion of Guards, now in the Tower, were threatened with confinement and with ſtripes, for ſubſcribing together to take in " the *Gazetteer.*" If they had ſubſcribed to " *the Times,*" or " *the True Briton,*"—(Oh! that ever the name of Briton ſhould be ſo proſtituted! that ſuch a farrago of proſtitution, falſehood, abſurdity, and contemptible ſcurrility, ſhould ever be ſtamped upon the forehead with the name of Briton! and that a man ſhould be found, throughout the country, to give countenance to ſuch a libel upon the national character!) If this had been the paper they had ſubſcribed for, there would have been no threats of ſtripes and dungeons; for they have no objection to the ſoldiers, or any other perſons, reading, provided they would read nothing but the proſtituted traſh publiſhed by Reeves and his aſſociators, or the farrago iſſued from the frantic brain of Burke. They are poor deluded ſhort-ſighted creatures, however, who have ſo narrow an opinion of the human intellect.

Read, read my fellow citizens. It is better to read falſehood than nothing. The traſh produced by the pimps and

ſpies of the preſent day, cannot but convince you of the falſhood of arguments that appeal to ſuch abſurdity for ſupport and countenance.

But have the ſoldiers received no ſort of information? Have all the little pamphlets of the day eſcaped them? After all the diligence which Mr. Dundas, about 18 months ago, ſo pompouſly deſcribed of planting the Highways, and Wimbledon Common, with ſeditious pamplets—what has the ſeed, ſo ſown, no part of it found its way to the ſoldier's meſs?—And have the ſoldiers no wrongs to redreſs?—What, when Sir *Henry Clinton*, in a pamphlet lately publiſhed, declares that a part of the ſpoil taken at *Charleſtown*, has not, even to this very day, been divided among the brave ſoldiers who fought for the attainment of that conqueſt—ſuch as it was!—What, after having bled and toiled, many of them expired and others loſt their limbs, in the ſervice of their country—as it was called;—after all this are they, or their widows and orphans, defrauded of their part of the emolument? Did your officers and great naval commanders divide their thouſands and ten thouſands fourteen years ago, and do great Generals ſtep forward to avow, that the common ſoldiers remain defrauded to this day of their ſcanty pittance?—and will not theſe wrongs convince the ſoldiery, how much ſoever excluded from ſociety, that the abuſed and perſecuted patriots, who inſiſt that reformation is required, are not the enemies of their country, or their country's ſoldiery—are not the perſons, whoſe throats they ought to cut, even if wretches were found profligate enough to iſſue ſuch command? Do what they will, ſo long as Miniſters and their agents continue to practice ſuch injuſtice, ſo long will the cauſe of truth be making rapid ſtrides; and the ultimate harveſt will be, that Miniſters and their Agents, in a few years time, will no longer have the power to delude thoſe whom they vainly ſuppoſe they can plunge into utter darkneſs and mental oblivion.

I could mention a great many other inſtances; but it matters not dwelling upon particular circumſtances. The preſent ſituation of Europe opens a wider field of enquiry. We have found that men have rights. We have found that men have capacities to underſtand thoſe rights, and ſpirit to aſſert them. We have found that intelligence can only be extended in proportion as men enjoy thoſe rights; and we have found that virtue can only reſult from intelligence, and therefore we have only to chooſe between liberty and virtue, on the one hand,

hand, and ignorance, vice, and abject ſubmiſſion on the other. Having received theſe great truths, facts and minute particulars, when they can be brought forward, may aſſiſt us a little in the proſecution of enquiry; but the great principles are things to which we ſhould be eternally reſorting.

The events that have taken place in Europe might be conſidered as a warning voice to Miniſters, to induce them to reflect, as Citizen O'Connor obſerves in that admirable ſpeech which will illuminate unborn ages, and confer immortal glory upon the man who delivered it.—Speaking of the treatment of the ſoldiery, and of the attempts to ſeparate the ſoldiers from the great body of the people, he ſays "Do not "depend on the bayonet for the ſupport of your meaſures. "Believe me that in proportion as your meaſures require "force to ſupport them, in an exact proportion are they ra- "dically and miſchievouſly bad. Believe me there is more "ſtrength in the affections and confidence of the people than "if you were to convert every ſecond houſe in the nation "into barracks for the ſoldiery. And when the gentlemen, "whom I have heard this night, tell you that to act in con- "tempt of the public opinion is ſpirit and firmneſs, and that "to act with a decent reſpect for that opinion is timidity and "cowardice, they make the character of the Legiſlator to "merge into the character of the Duelliſt. Is it not enough "that you live in the age, and in the midſt of the horrors "of revolution to deter you from acting in contempt of the "public opinion? Have you not had examples enough to "convince you that men, in throwing off the ruſſet frock "for the uniform of the ſoldier, do not, at all times, throw "away the ties of kindred and of blood? Have you not had "examples enough to convince you, that even ſoldiers can- "not at all times be brought to ſhed the blood of their pa- "rents, their kindred, and their friends?" and we might add that ſoldiers, alſo, cannot always be kept in ignorance of the incontrovertible maxim that *all mankind are Brethren*; and that tho' Iriſh ſoldiers ſhould be ſent into England to cut the throats of Engliſhmen, or the Engliſh be ſent into Ireland to cut the throats of Iriſhmen, that in reality the Engliſhman acting againſt the Iriſhman, is whetting a dagger that will reach the breaſt of his parent at home, and the Iriſhman acting againſt the Engliſh is alſo murdering his own relative at home. Yes, they will ſee that it is only ſtriking with the left hand inſtead of the right; but that the blow is as certain

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in this *croſs-handed fray*, as if brother pointed the bayonet at the breaſt of brother, and the father were ſabreing his own ſon. He proceeds,—"And have you not had a great and "memorable example to convince you, that the ſoldiers of "an odious government may become the ſoldiers of the na-"tion." I would fain hope this warning voice ſhould reach all the Cabinets of Europe; that it ſhould teach Miniſters to confeſs that, not the men whom they proſcribe and would deſtroy on account of their attachment to liberty, are the enemies of the conſtitution, not theſe are the Jacobins, as they chuſe to call them, but that the real Jacobins are thoſe who having ſeen the ſteps and meaſures which produced the revolution in France, themſelves being in power, and having the opportunity, dare to adopt the ſame meaſures, and to purſue the very ſteps, which rendered the Revolution in France neceſſary and inevitable. One would think they could not be blind to this conviction—that as ſimilar cauſes will produce ſimilar effects, if they will adopt French oppreſſions, French retaliations will take place, and that upon their heads muſt fall the miſchiefs that reſult from their vicious meaſures.

But, Citizens, as I have objected to barracks and fortifications; as I have objected to a ſtanding army; it may be aſked what are the means I would adviſe, in the preſent ſituation of ſociety, for the ſecurity of the country: for no man can pretend to be blind to this plain and obvious fact, that

THE COUNTRY IS IN DANGER!

It is in ſome danger I believe from without, from more quarters than is ſuſpected: for the mad and frantic meaſures of the adminiſtration of the country have rouſed a lion, which they will not be able to ſoothe again to ſlumber. They have conjured up a danger the whole extent of which they cannot perceive. They have entered into a ridiculous alliance with the Empreſs of Ruſſia, under the vain hope of thus averting the cataſtrophe likely to fall upon the country. But what have they done by this? They have paved the way for the aggrandizement of their moſt dangerous and ambitious rival. They have entered into a confederacy with a faithleſs woman, the ſcourge of Europe, and blotted over with the moſt hideous crimes. But, if ever this woman ſhall bring her fleets into the ocean, what is likely to be the conduct of Ruſſia; taking her preſent ſyſtem into conſideration? Let us aſk what is her intereſt? and, having aſked that, the ghoſt of a murdered huſband ſhall tell you what ſort of conduct ſhe will adopt, and what crimes ſhe will ſtop at when her intereſt dictates.

tates. What is the intereſt then of this Ruſſian tyrant?—Why, *her* intereſt is the deſtruction of the Britiſh navy. She has nothing to do, therefore, but to appear to ſwell the bulk and importance of your navy; to ſtimulate you into ſome attempt beyond the real force that you may carry with you; and then, deſert you in the hour of battle, and ſtand neuter while the enemy deſtroys your fleets. Then, having been well ſubſidized, ſhe puts her ſubſidy in her pocket, and pointing to the Britiſh nation with ſcorn, ejaculates, "Behold the "ſalary you have paid me for inſuring your deſtruction and "my own aggrandizement."

It is not then by alliances; it is not then by fortifications; it is not then by barracks; it is not then by a ſtanding army, that I would have you ſeek for ſecurity. I would have you ſeek ſecurity, in the firſt place, by ſtanding intrepidly, but peaceably forward, and demanding with unanimous voice the reſtoration of your rights: ſhewing to the government of the country, and to the Miniſters who are at the helm of that government, that you have an enlightened conviction of the nature of your rights; that you have a Britiſh determination to enjoy thoſe rights; making uſe, alſo, of this plain argument—There is but one way to make the people of any country unanimous; and that is by giving them a common, univerſal, unanimous intereſt in the protection and proſperity of the country. Every man who has any thing to defend will ſtand boldly forward to defend it. And that country where there is any man, or any body of men, who can be ſaid to have nothing to defend, that country may call itſelf a limited monarchy, may call itſelf a free country, or what it will, but the plain and ſimple fact is, that *it is a country of ſlaves!* for the only diſtinction between freeman and ſlave is this—that a freeman has a ſtake in the country of which he is a member, —has rights, and the opportunity, at leaſt, of procuring poſſeſſions, while the ſlave has no ſtake at all, no intereſt to bind him to the government under which he lives, or to ſtimulate him to ſtand boldly forward, and expoſe himſelf to defend that country, of which he is a member. Make every man free and every man will be brave: for freedom engenders courage. If this were not the fact, how does it happen that a neighbouring country, whoſe population was ſo incompent to enable her to ſtand againſt this country while deſpotiſm prevailed, ſhould now lay proſtrate at her feet the thrones and tyrannies of Europe, while the feeble arms of Britain in vain endeavour

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to prop their tottering cauſe, and has almoſt fallen herſelf beneath the weight of that enormous ruin in which thoſe tyrannies are involved?

It is then by a general ſyſtem of liberty, that gives every man an intereſt in the country, that you can alone create that unanimity by which the country can be defended. It is only by doing this that you can hope that every citizen, in the hour of danger, will become a ſoldier, from the conviction that every ſoldier, in the hour of peace, will become again a citizen. But this is a conviction, this a ſyſtem upon which I do not expect the preſent Adminiſtration will act, becauſe I know that the inſtant ſuch a ſyſtem is eſtabliſhed, the gilded fabric of their ill gotten power muſt crumble into atoms; and that part of the conſtitution which relates to the internal organization of the cabinet, and to the ſyſtem of borough-mongering—that part, which is in fact an excreſcence which corruption has planted upon the conſtitution, will be wiped away. The genuine Conſtitution of Britain will then ſhine forth with renovated ſplendour; and liberty and equality, juſtly defined and properly enjoyed, will once more make Britain an envied Paradiſe in Europe.

THE LECTURES *will re-commence Wedneſday, the 2d of September.*

THE TRIBUNE. N°. XX.

THE FIRST LECTURE "*On* ALLIES *and* ALLIANCES; *with Strictures on the* FAITH *of* REGULAR GOVERNMENTS." *Delivered* Wednesday, May 27th, 1795.

[Note.—This and the enſuing Tribune are properly to be conſidered as concluding that Courſe of Lectures on the Cauſes and Calamities of War, of which the firſt four were delivered at the beginning of the ſeaſon; and for which ſee *Vol.* I. *No.* 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7.]

CITIZENS,

THE ſubject for the preſent evening is, The modern ſyſtem of allies and alliances; with ſtrictures on the faith of regular governments. This ſubject is exceedingly extenſive. There are various points of view in which it may be treated. And, perhaps, if we trace things to the foundation, in whatever point of view we conſider it, we ſhall be inclined to doubt whether alliances, ſuch as are generally formed between nation and nation, are more abſurd in their principle or more dangerous in their practice. The enquiry, from the manner in which I find myſelf diſpoſed to take it up, divides itſelf into two heads: *firſt*, the political influence of theſe compacts between Government and Government; and *ſecond*, their operation in a military point of view.

On the preſent evening I ſhall enter into an inveſtigation only of that part of the ſubject which relates to the operation of theſe compacts upon the political liberty, and civil rights of man. What relates to the operation of alliances in the field of battle I ſhall defer till another evening—When I ſhall, of courſe, be led more at large into the characters of the preſent confederated powers of Europe; and into ſome ſpeculations on the probable cataſtrophe of the preſent war.

In the firſt place, Citizens, I ſhall examine the arguments upon which the ſyſtem of alliance is juſtified, and ſhall conſider how far theſe arguments may be oppoſed by others of more ſerious importance to mankind. And, perhaps, when we enter ſeriouſly into the inveſtigation we ſhall be obliged to confeſs that alliances are, in general, little other than combinations of particular governments, to oppreſs and plunder not only the people of all other countries, but even of their own.

The real principles of juſtice, I believe, and alſo the real principles of policy, would teach us to obſerve a conduct exceedingly different from that which has been followed by the Courts of Europe, not only during the preſent time, but for centuries back. I believe we ſhould find that Juſtice would dictate to us to do all the good in our power to all the nations of the world; that policy would point out to us that the beſt things we can do for ourſelves is really to promote the happineſs and welfare of all the exiſting nations in the univerſe; and that our beſt way to do that is to form no particular alliances, compacts, or treaties, with any nation, or any ſet or body of men whatever.

It is neceſſary, for the happineſs of mankind, (and it muſt be admitted as ſoon as examined) that animoſities of every deſcription ſhould be laid aſide; that human beings ſhould conſider each other as friends and as brothers; and that they ſhould ſeize all opportunities of advancing that fraternal felicity which nothing but ſuch principles and ſuch convictions can promote. But it is evident, if you form combinations of alliance at one time, which are to dictate to you at future periods, the events of which you cannot foreſee, that you muſt be frequently led to a direct violation of this principle. Compacts, in their very nature, inevitably proceed upon the ſhort-ſighted principle of *ſelf intereſt*—or more properly of ſordid jealouſy and excluſion. Theſe combinations, therefore, ſet out, in the firſt inſtance, upon the narrow and unjuſtifiable project of promoting the intereſt of a few, in oppoſition to the intereſts of the aggregate of the world; and the ſtrong probability is, nay almoſt the certainty, that the progreſs of events will ſhortly render the execution of theſe compacts even more unjuſt and impolitic than at the time of their firſt adoption. Courts, however, have paid very little regard, in their practice, to the grand rules, either of moral conduct or national policy. On the contrary, all the cabinets of Europe

rope have been perpetually endeavouring to foment animoſities and averſions between the people of their reſpective nations; and to draw the Courts themſelves into a cloſer union of compact and mutual underſtanding.

Theſe combinations among the different rulers of different parts of the univerſe, have for a long time gone on without exciting any degree of jealouſy or enquiry among the people. A ſort of lethargic confidence ſeems to have taken poſſeſſion of the minds of men, and induced them readily to believe the tales of artful jugglers and hypocrites, that thoſe entruſted with the management of public affairs certainly muſt underſtand better, what is for the public good than the public themſelves; and that therefore they were only to repeat by rote, as parrots, the leſſons put into their mouths by their rulers; without conſidering what were the ideas affixed, or whether they conveyed any ideas at all.

But, Citizens, I believe this is not preciſely the caſe at this time. A ſpirit of enquiry has gone very widely abroad: a *ſpirit* which I do not think all the exorciſms of prieſts, the perſecutions of miniſters, or even the machinations of that arch inquiſitor Reeves himſelf, will ever be able to lay. The fact is that people begin to diſcover this truth, that ALL THE PEOPLE OF ALL THE NATIONS OF THE EARTH HAVE ONE COMMON INTEREST AND ONE COMMON CAUSE, which it is their duty zealouſly to promote, the machinations againſt which they are called upon anxiouſly to watch, and vigilantly, nay, *if neceſſary*, BRAVELY to oppoſe.

This intereſt—this cauſe, is the *preſervation of* LIBERTY, PEACE, *and* UNIVERSAL JUSTICE! This cauſe, which can flouriſh only by ſuppreſſing the malevolent paſſions, and cultivating a diſpoſition to univerſal benevolence, if ever it triumphs, annihilates at once the ſyſtems of nationality and cabinet alliances, and unites the *people* of all climes and latitudes under the peaceful banner of fraternity.

If this ſtatement is ſeriouſly and coolly conſidered; if we ſtrip ourſelves of the animoſities of faction and the attachments of party; if we take away from this ſyſtem the miſcolouring and miſrepreſentations with which thoſe who cannot controvert its principles, have endeavoured to calumniate its ſupporters, I believe it will bring immediate conviction to the heart of man. For who can doubt, for an inſtant, that peace is better than ſlaughter? who can doubt, for an inſtant, that all national averſion, and hatred to perſons, on account

of their ſects, their opinions, nations, climate, language, or colour, are hoſtile to thoſe generous and noble feelings of philanthropy, without which peace cannot be preſerved, and the general intercourſe and happineſs of mankind cannot be promoted?

Let us enquire then whether alliances (even abſtractedly conſidered) have a tendency to promote this diſpoſition ſo deſirable for the happineſs of the univerſe. Let us conſider alſo—and perhaps it would be well to conſider this in the firſt place—whether, even if alliances could be admitted in themſelves to be good, alliances *upon the preſent principle* of Machiavelian policy, are of that deſcription which would be deſirable. Admitting, for the inſtant, that alliances ought to be tolerated, what *ought* to be their object and principle, and what *is* the nature of the alliances that are generally formed? Do they ariſe from the people of the contracting—or rather the *contracted* nations, mixing and confederating together, and arguing with each other upon their reſpective views and intereſts, and learning the real diſpoſitions and qualities of each other's hearts, and thence entering into ſuch compacts and treaties as grow out of their conviction of mutual utility? Or do they in reality grow out of thoſe cabals and confederacies, which a certain ſet of honourable ſpies, called conſuls and ambaſſadors, carry on, frequently to the diſgrace of morality, and the deſtruction of every virtuous, candid, and liberal principle which ought to be cheriſhed in the human heart?

If the ſeed is bad let us not expect that the fruit will be good. If you ſow night-ſhade in your fields, not bread but poiſon will be your harveſt! If you ſow treachery, venality, intrigue, and ſelfiſhneſs in your national intercourſes, do not expect to reap friendſhip, faith, and national advantage, for your harveſt can only be diſappointment, contention, and the ſword.

The plain and ſimple fact is, I believe, that the people are always kept in the dark, as to the real objects of all alliances at preſent formed between the courts of Europe. They are anxiouſly prevented from knowing, not only what were the motives, but what are the objects; and are hardly ever acquainted with the real tenor of the compact. There are, it is true, certain general articles with which you are to be acquainted, and upon the faith of which you are to pay your money—4,600,000 pounds, perhaps, at a time! But if any over-inquiſitive individual ſhould indulge a dangerous diſpoſition

ſition to know more than Miniſters think fit to reveal, he is ſilenced at once by ſome member of the political prieſthood, who ſcruples not to avow with the true air of diplomatic myſtery, that there *may be* ſecret articles behind the ſcreen, but warns the profane enquirer not to approach with impious interrogatories the ſanctum ſanctorum of cabinet confederacy. So that while you believe you are paying a nation to fight your wars, and defend your intereſts abroad, you may, perhaps, be hiring foreign mercenaries to cut your throats at home.

But, Citizens, I am, for my own part, much inclined to believe that alliances, conducted upon whatever principle, will be found injurious to the happineſs and welfare of nations. I have always ſeen, during that little intercourſe which I have had with the world, that the quantum of advantage produced by the individual exertions of any given number of perſons, each toiling and labouring ſeparately, has been very ſuperior to the quantum of benefit or advantage produced by the ſame number of perſons bound together by compact and combination. And accordingly, it has been very juſtly obſerved, that when *Pope*, *Swift*, *Arbuthnot*, and *Gay*, united together to compoſe a particular work, they all four, clubbing their wits, wrote a great deal worſe than any one of them ever did when he truſted to his own individual genius and imagination. It is ſo in every thing to which the phyſical or mental powers of the individual are any way competent. Whatever can be done by *an individual* is always *better done ſingle-handed*, than when the ſame thing is attempted by ſeveral perſons combined together.

I not mean to ſay that there is no benefit and advantage in mutual exertions and labour. There are certain things which are beyond the ſtrength, which are beyond the longevity of man, which it would nevertheleſs be very uſeful to ſociety to have accompliſhed. And there are certain undertakings which, in a great meaſure, depend, and very properly depend upon numbers and combination chiefly for their ſucceſs; and, therefore, it is neceſſary for perſons to enter into combinations when any ſuch work is to be undertaken. But I mean to contend, that when the buſineſs is not of ſuch a nature that it requires a larger portion of phyſical ſtrength, a larger portion of longevity, than can be commanded by an individual, nor is of that kind to which united ſuffrage is requiſite to give it the ſtamp of juſtice and the capability of ſucceſs—when neither of theſe is the caſe, the individual

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does better to truſt to the powers, the energies of his own intellect and capacities, than to ſtrengthen and fortify himſelf, as he ſuppoſes, but in reality to debilitate himſelf, by depending upon the united efforts of other perſons.

The queſtion then is—whether the intereſts and concerns of nations are of that deſcription that they require a combination of ſeveral nations together, or whether they are of that deſcription that the individual nation *can* execute them by depending upon itſelf alone? For it muſt be obſerved, that, in many reſpects, nations reſemble individuals, and the arguments that will apply to the individual will frequently apply to the nation, conſidered as an aggregate individual alſo. I do not mean to ſay that this is univerſally the caſe. Whoever argues by ſimile is in danger of falling into ſophiſtry. And therefore let me warn you, whenever ſimilitudes are offered to you, from this or any other place, to examine what are the particular features and accompaniments of the things compared. For there are points always at which they *do*, and others at which they do not touch. But, with reſpect to the general principles I have laid down, I believe you will find, that the individual body and the ſocial body do exactly agree. That is to ſay, that whatever can be done by the individual nation, will be better done by that individual nation than by any combination and alliance of various nations; and that combinations, and alliances of various nations, ought only to be encouraged when the undertaking is of that deſcription that, in the nature of things, an individual nation could not accompliſh it. As would be the ſublime projects of Dr. Darwin (if indeed they can be regarded as practicable at all) for ameliorating the condition, and correcting the climates of the globe which we inhabit. But there is another point at which I ſuſpect the compariſon does not touch. For tho' there are certain undertakings for which it is advantageous for individuals to combine, there are ſtrong reaſons for ſuppoſing that there is none, certainly there are very few objects that it is for the welfare of a nation to purſue, but what it can purſue and accompliſh by its own individual exertions.

In ſhort, putting out of our calculations the benevolent viſions of philoſophers, and conſidering the characters and purſuits of nations, ſuch as they hitherto have been, I am much inclined to ſuſpect, as you never can produce the ſame intimate connection between nation and nation as between individual and individual, as you never can produce the ſame mutual

mutual intercourſe of mind, and thorough comprehenſion of the views and objects of each, ſo we ſhall find, that all thoſe undertakings which cannot be accompliſhed by an individual nation are of that deſcription that it is a great deal better never to undertake at all. For nothing but diſgrace, ruin and infamy generally have attended, or I believe ever can attend, undertakings of ſo extenſive and complicated a nature as to make national confederacies neceſſary to their conduct.

But there is one circumſtance in which this parallel, between individuals and communities, certainly very cloſely agrees; namely, the energy, the vigour, and reſources of intellect, which, ſtanding independent of all other ſupports, has a tendency to generate in the character. The man who truſts to friends, to promiſes, and to profeſſions, to extricate himſelf from embarraſſment, or to attain the advantages he looked for, generally meets with nothing but diſappointment; and, at laſt, after trammelling himſelf with inefficient obligations, is left to the purſuit of his original object in a worſe condition than he ſet out, with a mind ſtripped of half its vigour, an imagination clouded, a judgment embarraſſed, and a ſpirit deprived of that keenneſs and ardour with which, if he had always been in the habit of depending upon his own individual exertions, he would have been able to have preſſed forward to the attainment of his wiſhes.

Is it or is it not ſo with nations? Conſult the facts of hiſtory. Conſult, if you will, the analogies of reaſoning.—I believe abſtract reaſoning would convince you, that the arguments are ſtill more potent with reſpect to the nation than the individual. But, if you love an eaſier taſk, turn over the pages of hiſtory, and ſee whether facts do not bear me out in the aſſertion I have made. Tell me, ye hiſtorians—(I will endure interruption if any man can tell me ſuch an inſtance) what great, what noble, what glorious atchievement ever was accompliſhed by a number of nations in alliance and combination. But, if you want to know the glorious atchievements of individual nations, even petty little ſtates, ſo ſmall that their numbers would hardly people a ſecond-rate city in France!—if you want the glorious atchievements they have accompliſhed, turn to the hiſtories of the little ſtates of Greece; conſult the hiſtories of Athens and Lacedemon, thoſe names for ever glorious—for ever dear to the heart that pants for liberty! thoſe ſmall but magnificent Republics, which, like ſtars in the political and intellectual firmament, will

will ſhine for ever as examples to mankind, and light us in the path of excellence. Think of the great exploits of Leonidas, of Themiſtocles, of Epaminondas—think of the glorious ſtruggles of Thermopoly, of Salamis, of Marathon—think of the aſtoniſhing atchievements which throng in the hiſtoric page of Greece and of Rome! Conſider, alſo, the unconquerable energy diſplayed by the Arabian tribes, under Mahomet, and the early leaders of that religion, which, by the ſword of unaſſociated valour, was eſtabliſhed over ſo large a portion of the earth; not by the numbers, not by the potency, wealth, or reſources of the tribes who made thoſe conqueſts; but by that unity, that individuality, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, which knit and combined the little bands of heroes and the enthuſiaſts together, and occaſioned them to have but one head, one heart, one object and purſuit.

But, whenever alliances have been made, we have always found that the nations thus allied have become enfeebled. We have hiſtories and records of alliances innumerable. If I were to go largely into them, I ſhould foreſtall a part of that which is to be the ſubject of my ſecond lecture. I ſhall, therefore, neither dwell upon the cruſades of ancient nor of modern times, at preſent; but ſhall refer them to their proper ſtation in the ſecond branch of my enquiry. I think I have ſaid enough, and every individual will be able to recollect enough, to prove my poſition, that nations, as well as individuals, are enfeebled by extraneous dependencies—by alliances, treaties, and combinations.

There is another part of the miſchiefs, however, of thoſe alliances which muſt not be paſſed over in ſilence. It is their inevitable tendency to ſpread the miſchiefs and the ravages of hoſtility through a much wider circle than could otherwiſe be affected by the rival intereſts, the miſtakes and paſſions of mankind.

Alliances have been fruitful ſources of calamity. This part of the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of *regular Governments*, alone, has done more to ruin and depopulate nations, than all the gloomy paſſions that ever inhabited the breaſts of men; nay, than the ambition of Princes and Miniſters themſelves would ever have been able to accompliſh without this powerful engine. The hoſtility which grows between nation and nation, but for this might be ſettled by the conteſt between the two parties. But the ſyſtem of alliance diffuſes the miſchief from pole to pole; and if two neighbouring nations chooſe to contend

tend about the navigation of a river, the poſſeſſion of an inacceſſible rock, or a barren mountain, the conſequence is, that the flames of war are to be kindled from nation to nation, the whole univerſe is to be diſturbed, the peaſant of every clime is to be torn from his uſeful occupation to the field of death, and the matrons of the moſt diſtant nations to behold "their infants quartered by the hand of war."

It has been pretended, however, that ſmall countries, or countries of but little political force, would not be able to protect themſelves, and would conſequently be trampled upon by their more powerful neighbours, if it was not for this ſyſtem of alliance. Let us enquire what ſort of foundation there is for this obſervation: or rather, let us enquire what ſort of effect has been produced, in this reſpect, by this boaſted ſyſtem of juſtice and generous protection. If ſecurity to the weak has reſulted from theſe confederacies, of which Courts and Miniſters are ſo fond, there is then ſome colour of vindication; altho' I contend, that the principles of juſtice and ſound policy would produce this effect ſtill better without any ſuch alliances. Juſtice would dictate to me, that if I am a ſtrong man and my neighbour is weak, I am not to ſuffer another ſtrong man, merely becauſe he is ſtrong, to break into my neighbour's houſe and deſtroy him.

I do not mean to ſay, that you are not to lend aſſiſtance to thoſe who are abſolutely wronged. I only ſay, you are not to make alliances and combinations, by which you agree that, however a quarrel may begin, whoever may be right, whoever may be wrong, (for this is always the ſenſe, though not the expreſs wording of every treaty of alliance) you are to make yourſelves a party in the quarrels and projects of your ally, by whomſoever inſulted or whomſoever he may inſult. It is the alliance, not the principle of juſtice of protecting the weak againſt the tyranny of the ſtrong, that I cenſure: And though there was no treaty of alliance between the Court of *St. James's* and the Court of *Warſaw*, yet if one half of that wealth ſquandered in this country againſt the liberty of *France*, had been ſpent to protect the Poles from that deſtruction which a combination of deſpots has brought upon them, I ſhould have gloried in the magnanimity of a nation which had ſtepped forward to ſave an oppreſſed and a virtuous people from the jaws of tyrannous deſtruction: I ſhould have rejoiced the more in the conviction that they did it from the dictates of their honeſt and virtuous hearts, and not from the compulſive, or ſuppoſed compulſive circumſtance

of there being a treaty of mutual aſſiſtance between the reſpective powers. But what ſtronger argument can we have of the impotency and abſurdity of theſe treaties, than the very circumſtance of the fate of *Poland?* The Court of *Pruſſia* enters into an alliance with the Court of *Warſaw*, by which they bind themſelves to mutual protection and good friendſhip. Yet, by and by, true to the Machiavelian maxim, that "a Prince is never to obſerve his promiſes any longer than it is to his own intereſt," forth ſteps, the virtuous and pious repreſentative of the regular Government of *Pruſſia*, to make an alliance with the ſtill more humane, pious and virtuous repreſentative of the regular government of *Ruſſia*, and the ſapient, the juſt and magnificent repreſentative of the regular government of *Germany*, and they make a freſh compact, and a freſh alliance—for the protection of *Poland?* no, for the diviſion of *Poland*, with whom this ſelf ſame King of Pruſſia, this juggling mountebank in gold and purple—this King of threads and patches, had formerly made a treaty of alliance and ſupport. But it ends not here. You have only got to the fourth act of the farcical tragedy. In all probability the fifth is now in rehearſal; and by and by we may have a treaty between the Emperor of *Germany* and the Empreſs of *Ruſſia*, againſt this ſelf ſame King of Pruſſia, with whom hitherto they have been in alliance, that they may, for the better preſervation of the balance of Europe, beat him out of the ſhare of the plunder.

Yet ſuch are the allies we ſubſidize! Such are the powers to purchaſe whoſe faithful aſſiſtance, we ſtrip the poor labourer of every comfort and neceſſary of exiſtence, make his marriage bed a curſe, and turn the fruitful iſſue of his love into plagues and ſcorpions, harrowing his imagination, and piercing his ears with the cries of want.

To one of theſe precious allies, in the midſt of all our national diſtreſſes, 4,600,000 pounds are to be laviſhed; how much we are to give to the other is yet, perhaps, a ſecret behind the curtain of the Cabinet; but which we ſhall one day or other be acquainted with to our coſt. Such are the regular governments upon whoſe faith we can depend, notwithſtanding the frequent examples we have had of their unqualified treachery. In the cobweb fabric of their promiſes we conſent to weave the deſtiny of further years of tremendous hoſtility, and of thouſands of induſtrious families; upon the frail truſt of ſuch a thread we hang our trembling hopes; and, with no better ſecurity, conſent to prolong the miſeries

of

of Europe, and to perpetuate that famine, ſcarcity, and deſolation, ſo large a portion of which we have already diſtributed not only among ourſelves, but to all ſurrounding nations.

But what are the pretences for alliances? One of theſe pretences—and a very favorite one indeed, in this country, is the preſervation of the balance of power. So you ſee, firſt of all, we deſcribe power by a metaphor, calling it a balance and then realize the dream of our own fancy, and at the expence of the lives of thouſands, and the happineſs of millions, plunge all Europe into confuſion, in order that we may break a piece of power away here, and throw it in there, to preſerve the equipoiſe of theſe imaginary ſcales. O convenience of metaphorical logic! If it ſuited the purpoſes of theſe ſophiſtical reaſoners, they would find that any other ſort of ſimile was equally deſcriptive.

The Britiſh conſtitution uſed to be deſcribed as a triple balance, and many fine declamations have been made by political jugglers upon the baſis of this ridiculous metaphor; but projects were formed for which this triple balance would not anſwer, and Judge *Eyre*, finding that this metaphor, inſtead of ſupporting his new faſhioned theory of High Treaſon, changed *hocus pocus*, the balance into a wheel: put the poor Britiſh Conſtitution to the rack, (—poor Conſtitution!—it had been mangled enough already!) and then, to ſhow his knowledge of *phyſical*, as well as metaphorical ſcience, he tells you, that any thing that preſſes upon the circumference muſt injure the centre: though we know very well that a centre is in its nature immoveable, and that whatever violence is committed upon the circumference, can only alter the direction or velocity of the converging points, while the centre inevitably remains uninfluenced. However, a wheel or a balance, or a ſword, or a halter, are any of them metaphors ſufficiently capable of extenſive application, to anſwer all the purpoſes of political reaſoners. Having got the power in their hands to proceed at will to final demonſtration, who ſhall diſpute the intermediate gradations of their logic? or deny that a metaphor is as legitimate a baſis of ſound argument as a ſyllogiſm or a ſelf evident fact?—The *rack* at ſuch times is juſt as good an emblem of juſtice as a pair of *ſcales*; and it matters not whether you adopt the one or the other; while the ſword is ready to diſpatch the individual whom neither the balance can weigh down nor the rack ſubdue.

Having made the power of Europe a balance—a balance it ſhould ſeem of a *hundred ſcales!* each government ſuppoſed itſelf Briarius (the giant with a hundred hands) that could uphold them all; and, accordingly, it has always been thought neceſſary, by one or other of them, to keep the world plunged in wars to ſupport the metaphorical equipoiſe. But if we ever could be blind enough to ſuppoſe that the jugglers who talk of this balance of power were in earneſt, we ought to be very much obliged to them for their late conduct, which certainly muſt have opened our eyes, and convinced us that they never had any meaning, nor ever meant to have any meaning, unleſs it was that the people were to be put in one ſcale, and the individuals who compoſe the government in another, merely to ſhow how light the former are in the eſtimation of the latter; and how immediately they, with their emptied pockets, kick the beam, weighed down by the ponderous maſs of revenue, places, and patronage, in the courtly ſcale.

The balance of Europe! Will any perſon believe, if in this balance there had been any real meaning, that it was not more deſtroyed by the partition of Poland, than the navigation of the Scheldt? Is it more dangerous to the ſafety of Europe, that Savoy ſhould be added to the French Republic, than that ſo large a portion of Poland ſhould be affixed to the immenſe empire of Ruſſia?—whoſe ferocity and ambition, whoſe rapid ſtrides of uſurpation, and whoſe faithleſs conduct muſt have convinced mankind that the real object of her purſuit is the ſubjugation of Europe! the ſlavery of the civilized univerſe, over which her barbarians are to be eſtabliſhed as military governors, to reſtore the reign of ignorance and ferocity!

Another pretence for alliances, (a more modern pretence) is the preſervation of order and morality.

Citizens, in what do order and morality conſiſt? In deſtroying towns and villages? In depopulating nations? In laying fields and vineyards waſte, and then raking the aſhes together, to ſpread them decently over the graves of a few great victims, whoſe power and grandeur could not preſerve them from *the ſtroke of juſtice*, when the wickedneſs and indecency of their conduct had ſhaken, to their foundations, the venerable ſtructures of prejudice and ſuperſtition that once protected them? If this is what is meant by the preſervation of order and morality, then indeed are the preſent confederates againſt regenerated France, at leaſt in their intentions, moſt orderly

orderly, moſt moral, and moſt pious!—then, indeed, have alliances and royal combinations moſt frequently, and eſpecially in the late inſtance, advanced the cauſe of order, and of that moral diſtribution, upon which ſo intimately depends the felicity of the world. Then Iõ Kings, Courts, and Cabinets!—Iõ alliances and royal confederacies! for the promiſed millenium is itſelf at hand!

But if, by order, we mean the eſtabliſhment of peace and juſtice; if, by morality, we mean that ſyſtem of benevolent conduct, which promotes the general welfare and happineſs of mankind, what order, I aſk, what morality can be promoted by a band of depredators, under whatever titles or diſtinctions, uniting themſelves together to break into a country, with whoſe concerns they had no right to interfere, to ſpread deſolation through nations that did not chooſe to adopt their ſyſtem of politics.—I know but one ſyſtem of order and morality: and that muſt ſpring from the heart; from enlightened underſtandings, directed to the purſuit of principle; from a determination to promote the peace, the happineſs and welfare of mankind, and, as the beſt means of advancing theſe, to reſiſt the encroachments of tyranny and uſurpation, under whatever forms or pretences their encroachments may be made.

Another of the pretences for alliances and combinations, in the preſent day, is the preſervation of religion. And here, at leaſt, it muſt be admitted that the advocates for theſe alliances in this country, have certainly ſhewn a great diſpoſition to impartiality and juſtice. So that they may but be employed in protecting *religion*, they care not *what religion it is*. Popiſh, Proteſtant, Greek, or Mahometan, it is all the ſame. So that it be but ſome one of thoſe ſyſtems long eſtabliſhed in *regular governments* (and who ſhall deny the praiſe of *regularity* to the Governments of the Grand Signior or the Czarina?) it matters not which. We are now very buſy in protecting, and reſtoring the holy Roman Catholic Religion, and we know, a little while ago, that *England* (I mean the miniſtry of *England*, for the people, you know, in theſe matters are non entities) were filled with juſt as anxious a deſire for the dominion of *Mahomet*, as they are now for that of the *Pope*: juſt as ready to draw the ſword to preſerve the religion of the *Ottomans*, as now to preſerve his Holineſs in the chair of infallibility, and reſtore the great hats of the Cardinals to that dignity from which they have been hurled by the atheiſtical revolution in France.

But

But ſuppoſe we are ſerious for a minute upon this ſubject, and aſk ourſelves, whether we can poſſibly be guilty of a greater abſurdity than, in one inſtant, to fall down on our knees, and worſhip a being, whom we ſay is *omnipotent*, *omnipreſent*, and *omniſcient*, and at the very ſame time, by drawing *our ſwords* to fight againſt *his enemies*, (admitting, for the inſtant, that ſuch a being could either entertain or ſuffer enmity) to confeſs that we do not believe he is able to take his own part, or enforce his own will?

Theſe are the *pretences* upon which alliances have been made. But thoſe who are acquainted with the hiſtory of Courts (and indeed they have been exceedingly buſy in publiſhing expoſitions of their own hiſtory of late) thoſe at all acquainted with the hiſtory of Courts know that *pretence* is one thing, the *real object* another.

Now, Citizens as I have all poſſible reſpect for the Adminiſtration and Senate of this country, I ſhall not ſay one word about *their* motives: which I take it for granted, are the very beſt that they are capable of conceiving. But I believe it muſt be admitted, whatever is the caſe with the Cabinet and Court of *Britain*, that, with reſpect to the Cabinets of many countries, the real object of theſe alliances has been TO STRENGTHEN THE HANDS OF GOVERNMENT AGAINST THE PEOPLE! to ſupport thoſe individuals who have ſeized the Adminiſtration, or abuſed the Sovereignty of their reſpective nations; to fortify in their paſt and meditated uſurpations; and to enable them to pour foreign mercenaries into their countries, and menace and overawe, and, if neceſſary, dragoon the people, who might be otherwiſe unwilling to ſubmit to their propoſitions.

That this has been the caſe with ſome of the nations of *Europe*, I ſhall proceed to ſhow. Let us remember what was the caſe with *Brabant*. *Brabant* imagined, as I ſuſpect every nation will now and then imagine, for there is no accounting for the ſtrange conceits that ſometimes get into the heads of men—the Brabanters, I ſay, *imagined that they had* RIGHTS! that they had a claim to independence! that they were not a parcel of brute beaſts, a ſwiniſh multitude, who were to be driven, and whipped, and ſlaughtered at the will of their Lords; but that they had a right to vindicate and aſſert the ancient laws and liberties of their country, if they were wiſe enough to improve thoſe laws and liberties, for their own advantage, as their anceſtors before them improved the elder inſtitutions, and reformed the elder abuſes that exiſted in their days.

days. You know the hiſtory of that ſtruggle. Brabant was upon the brink of accompliſhing its object; and the tyrant who refuſed to govern by the laws was about to loſe his government altogether. Alliances, however, were formed with different Cabinets of *Europe* (and, O! ſhame to ſpeak it, with that of *Britain* among the reſt!) which convinced the Brabanters that they muſt relinquiſh the chimerical ideas of rights and privileges, and peaceably ſubmit themſelves to the wiſdom, the virtue, the moderation, and juſtice of the *regular and eſtabliſhed uſurpation*. *Brabant*, however, you will recollect, though diſappointed then, has ſince attained her object; perhaps not ſo well as ſhe would before; becauſe a nation always does beſt without the aſſiſtance of foreigners, however juſt and generous theſe foreigners incline to be.

Holland, alſo, thought it had a right to ſettle its own government. The *Batavians* remembered their ancient independence, ſo bravely purchaſed, and once ſo wiſely eſtabliſhed; and they did not very much like the idea of being governed by an individual, who was evidently the ſubject of another of the crowned heads of Europe. They therefore took it into their heads, that as they had a conſtitution which authoriſed them, whenever they choſe, to diſmiſs or ſet up a Stadtholder juſt as they pleaſed: a Stadtholder being, in reality, no part of the ancient conſtitution of the Batavian States—They thought they had right to appeal to the ancient laws, and redreſs the oppreſſions, uſurpations, and grievances under which they groaned; and they began ſeriouſly to think of ſetting about the buſineſs. But no, ſays the Stadtholder: You are combined together, and you are diſpoſed to get rid of me; and you tell me you have a *legal and conſtitutional*, as well as a *natural* right ſo to do. I will not diſpute the matter of right with you: it is not convenient to me, at preſent, to refer to hiſtories and conſtitutions; but I will let you know that there are other Princes and Potentates in Europe who underſtand a logic of another ſort; and with whom I am in alliance and combination; and with a *Pruſſian army*, and a *Britiſh fleet*, I will drive you like a rebellious herd before me, or tumble you into your own dykes, like ſo many frogs, till you croak for mercy, and hide your heads in Orange peel to get out again. —So much for Dutch and Auſtrian alliances.

The old deſpotiſm of France had its alliances alſo, and the French people being bit, in their turn, by this ſame mad dog, love of liberty—for its aſtoniſhing how this dreadful canine infection runs from man to man, and from nation to nation, ſo that,

that, dreadful to think! it may, perhaps, in time, disturb even the *Pope* in his vatican, dismiss the *Grand Signor* from his seraglio, and infect the beautiful nymphs and emasculated Eunuchs with metaphysical notions of the rights of man. France began to think of its rights, and to set about reforming the abuses of government. Aye, says the King—or rather the Queen, for he, "good easy man," give him but his beef steak and bottle of burgundy, would not trouble you with speeches, if you did not, as you do with other automatons, make the speech for him, and compel him to do whatever you desired. Aye, aye, says the Queen, that is all very well, and my good man shall appear to agree with it. But I have great relatives, and my German alliances shall back and support us, whenever I see good that the royal puppet should break his oaths and promises. They shall convince you, that you have nothing to depend upon; that oaths are air; that bonds and constitutions are paper; and that while we are amusing you with fair promises, *our* allies, but your open enemies, were furnishing us with the means of crushing you at pleasure. Thus, by infernal arts and machinations, the offspring of alliances and family compacts, was France interrupted in that career of virtue and philosophy, in which she set out. Yes—I repeat it—that *career of virtue and philosophy!*—for though the spectacled lunatic of St. Omer's, at the very commencement of the Revolution, fulminated his anathemas, and with his diabolical howlings against the National Assembly stigmatised their holy labours; look at their maxims of virtue, humanity, justice, and then blush, ye combined Courts and Ministers of Europe; blush at those wicked hostilities, and still more wicked intrigues, by which you have driven them from this peaceful career of intellect, to use the destructive weapons of force and violence. France, also, was interrupted in her career, by foreign alliances, by combinations of foreign Courts, that refused to explain the nature of their compacts. But France had too much energy, too much intellect, too much enthusiasm to be disappointed even for a time; and though she chose an alternative which has been dismal, in many respects, in its consequences, and was plunged by an infernal faction into excesses, at which nature shudders, yet she has taught one great and important lesson to the world, that a nation bent upon enquiry and improvement, may sometimes mistake its way, may sometimes, by the arts and the malice with which she is surrounded, be plunged awhile into tumults and mischief, but will persevere

not

not only to the final accompliſhment of her own virtuous objects, but to the downfall of thoſe whoſe criminal artifices, or ambitious uſurpations, would blaſt her harveſt, and c oud the proſpect of felicity and glory.

See then, if it is not digreſſing too far, what has been the conſequence to thoſe who formed thoſe fatal alliances. What has the Emperor got? You will tell me, perhaps, 4,600,000l. of Engliſh money. But this getting will be to him no gain; not that I believe he will ever pay you one ſhilling of it again, or ever be able ſo to do. But what has he got in point of power and grandeur? Let the Brabanters anſwer you that queſtion. What has the Stadtholder got? A ſnug retreat on the banks of the Thames; and a Dutch fair, repreſented in pantomime at *Frogmore*, may, perhaps, convince him of the gratitude of his *Maſter*, but will poorly atone for the forfeit revenues of ſeven wealthy Provinces, with all the regal ſplendours of the *Hague*. But behold the conſequence of Machiavelian policy! You may deſtroy the poor deluded puppets, whoſe grandeur you would exalt over the rights of man; but human intellect, when backed by human energy, is invincible: and woe to thoſe who are frantic enough to oppoſe its career.

Citizens, we may remember, that about eighteen months ago, we were alſo menaced with ſomething like a friendly alliance of this ſort in England. A *fortunate* diſeaſe viſited ſome foreign troops in the neighbourhood of our coaſt, and they were humanely landed upon the Iſle of Wight. This was only accident, to be ſure; but then it ſerved, you know, to feel the pulſe a little. Thanks to the ſtate of intellect in Britain, the pulſe of the nation vibrated as it ought. The glorious energy of *Stanhope* rouſed the country to a ſenſe of its danger; and the reſolutions of the Patriotic Societies, I ſhall venture once more to aſſert, conſpired with the ſpeech of that noble Citizen, to chaſe the Heſſian and Hanoverian barbarians from our coaſts: and to the lateſt hour of my life I ſhall exult, that, at the peril of a diſgraceful death, I contributed, by penning ſome of thoſe reſolutions, to ſave my country from that ſcene of deſolation and miſchief, which I am ſure will take place, whenever foreign mercenaries ſhall be marched into its boſom, to coerce the people, and dragoon them into ſubmiſſion to any miniſter, *whatever may be the pretences* with which a meaſure ſo diabolical may be coloured over. Hail! hail! ye fetters, chains, and dungeons!—Hail! ſcaffolds, halters, and axes! you were meant, it is true, as *the brands* of infamy, and the puniſhments of guilt; but when tyranny and oppreſſion reign,—when attempts are made to

ſubjugate a nation by bands of mercenary *cut-throats*, ye loſe your terrors in the patriot's eye—ye are then the badges of virtue, and the paſſports of eternal glory.

Citizens, it has been rumoured, that ſuch a deſign is again in contemplation. But I do not believe it. I think the miniſter of this country has learned a leſſon which will prevent him from doing ſuch things again. So long as Britons are ruled by Britons, I truſt that they will uſe no weapons but reaſon and enquiry, however great may be their burdens. But I have not faith enough in human patience to ſuppoſe, that they will bear to be dragooned by foreign mercenaries; that they will yield their throats to Heſſian or Hanoverian butchers, and ſuffer themſelves to be trampled into ſubmiſſion by any foreign interference; nay, I confeſs that my pacific principles do not go ſo far as to wiſh that they ſhould.

The manly ſpirit of this nation will, I hope, be diſplayed in peaceable and tranquil exertions: for I am ſure of this, that no important reformation, no change or amelioration ought to take place, except when there is a unanimous and manly reſolution to demand it; and when there is that manly and unanimous reſolution, it will require no artillery to enforce it, no bayonets to accompliſh it. But when a government is ſupported by foreign troops, it is then no longer a queſtion of argument. Silence or reſiſtance are the only alternatives.

Citizens, there is a good maxim among men of moral feelings, as to *common* plunderers. If they meet a highwayman, or footpad; if he demands their money, they will rather give it, than take away the life of a fellow-being, however depraved: but if he proceeds to violence, they muſt even, if they can, kill him in their own defence. In the ſame manner, I think the probability is that though the people ſuffer their money to be taken away by foreign mercenaries, they will not ſuffer themſelves to be dragooned by the admiſſion of them into this country; and if they would, all I can ſay is, that the modern inhabitants of this iſland are no more Britons, than the preſent race of ſlaves who inhabit what once was Greece, are Athenians and Lacedemonians. Be this as it will, with reſpect to our money, it muſt be admitted, we have parted with it pretty freely: for Britain having rather too large a quantity of theſe *golden globulæ* flowing through its veins, the political quacks have been very ſolicitous to apply the lancet; and not a high German Doctor of them all but has occaſionally held the baſon. How much the better we are for theſe applications, I do not pretend to determine; but our great State Phyſician, our political *Sangrado*, ſeems determined to perſevere in the practice. But

But all this is done to ſupport the reputation of *regular governments*. To regular governments, notwithſtanding the repeated inſtances we have had of their perfidy, we are ready to lend our aſſiſtance, and our money. With republican innovators, we are not willing even to ceaſe the monſtrous contention of ſlaughter and deſolation; though we cannot produce one ſingle inſtance of breach of faith in any of thoſe governments, at this time exiſting, that are worthy of the name of Republics.

Has *America* broken her faith with any of the nations with which ſhe has had any alliance? On the contrary, peruſe the tranſactions on the banks of *Miami*; and then read the treaties between this country and *America*: conſult alſo the rights of nations, and then anſwer me, Whether the irregular—the fantaſtical republican government of *America*, or the regular government of *Great-Britain*, can moſt juſtly be taxed with violation of its faith. Has the republic of *France* in any one inſtance, notwithſtanding all its wild changes, broke its faith, or violated its compacts? No: on the contrary, in the report of *Gregoire*, relative to the *Rights of Nations*, obſerve what magnanimity, what principles of juſtice!—ſo ſublime, I am bound to ſay, as never before were propagated by the government or public aſſemblies of any nation in the world. Hear them, in the very moment of triumph and victory, when all the nations of the earth were in a manner proſtrate before them—hear them conſecrating the equal rights of nations, and declaring, that "ſovereignty is the right of every na-"tion;" that "it depends not upon its power, upon its riches "or population;" that "a dwarf is a man as much as a "giant," and has the ſame rights; and that "ſovereignty is "as much the right of the little province of *Sant Marino* as of "the gigantic republic of France."

Turn alſo, if you pleaſe, to the republican government of *Switzerland*. Has *Switzerland*—I aſk the queſtion with confidence—has *Switzerland* been leſs diſtinguiſhed for its faith than the other governments of *Europe*? Quite the contrary: No nation has preſerved a more unblemiſhed character than that republic, in which, to a conſiderable degree, at leaſt among many of the Cantons, the principles of liberty and equality are eſtabliſhed: that republic in which (as the late King of Pruſſia declared with a ſort of involuntary applauſe) "every individual is at once a peaſant, a citizen, and a ſoldier."

Away then with the abſurd pretences, that you can have no faith in republics; and that you are to ſeek for it only in the regular governments of ariſtocracy and monarchy.

But

But they aſk you, What ſignifies making peace with *France*, in her preſent ſtate? What ſecurity can you have for a permanent peace?

What do theſe *regular governments* mean by a permanent peace? Would not one ſuppoſe, from this language, that, before the republican phrenzy broke out in *France*, Europe was always in a ſtate of harmony and friendſhip? That theſe *regular governments*, with their compacts and alliances, might quarrel once or twice, perhaps, in four or five hundred years; but that their uſual practice was to obſerve their treaties, and keep the peace inviolate, from century to century?—But what has been the fact? Conſult the records only of our own country for the laſt hundred years, and you will find that, of that period, more than half has been devoted to war and deſolation; that we have been five times at war with *France*, and ſix times at war with *Spain*, as I have ſhewn in a former lecture; that ſome of theſe wars have laſted eight or ten years together; and that it has been a long tranquillity indeed, that has ſuffered you to be ſix or ſeven years at peace. War after war, ſcene after ſcene of contention, has enſued. No pretence has been too frivolous, no object too contemptible, to be the ground of hoſtility.—The plain truth is, that theſe *Regular Governments* (that is to ſay, the Miniſters who act under them) have an intereſt in keeping the world perpetually in war: that it is the people who bear the burden, but the governors who are enriched by the plunder. In ſhort, the *regular governments of Europe* have hitherto ſhewn themſelves to be conſiſtent in but one principle—a principle which is indeed laid down by *Machiavel* as the fundamental axiom without which no *regular government* can poſſibly exiſt; namely, that they ſhould neither keep peace, faith, nor compact, any longer than it is to the advantage of thoſe by whom that compact is made. And hence it is that one univerſal ſyſtem of ſlaughter and devaſtation has been inceſſantly purſued; nor is it eaſy to foreſee when we ſhall get to the end of this diſmal chapter.

Such, then, are the principles of faith and pacification among theſe regular governments. I leave it to your ſerious conſideration, whether this is a picture to encourage you to perſevere in war, till deſtruction and miſery overwhelm you in one common maſs, rather than truſt to the yet untried faith of the *French republic*, however various it may be in its occaſional formation, or whatever may be the internal factions which at preſent diſtract it; and which are not to be wondered at, when we conſider the monſtrous abyſs of guilt, oppreſſion, and contaminating corruption, from which they have been ſtruggling to get free.

THE TRIBUNE. N°. XXI.

THE SECOND LECTURE "*On* ALLIES *and* ALLIANCES; *containing Strictures on the conſequences of employing* AUXILIARY TROOPS; *and on the* CHARACTER *and* VIEWS *of our* ALLIES; *with a proſpect of the* PROBABLE CATASTROPHE *of the* PRESENT WAR." *Delivered* Friday, June 5th, 1795.

CITIZENS,

YOU will remember, that when I formerly treated of the ſubject of allies and alliances, I entered into an inveſtigation of the principles of the ſyſtem. I endeavoured to ſhew you how far it was conſiſtent either with good policy, or juſtice, to form alliances between one State and another, or rather between the Courts and Governments of reſpective States. I endeavoured to ſhow you that it was not, in reality, a union of the ſentiments, paſſions, and intereſts of the different countries, that thoſe who formed the alliances wiſhed to promote; but that, on the contrary, every opportunity was ſeized to aggravate hoſtile diſpoſitions, and to foment thoſe prejudices which ſtimulate nation againſt nation, and urge the deluded multitude to deeds of murder and deſolation. I therefore proceeded to conclude, that theſe compacts were rather to be regarded as alliances between Courts and Governments, for private intereſts and concealed purpoſes of their own, than contracts of different nations, nominally allied, but in reality no further intereſted in the bargain than as they muſt bear all the burden, hazard, and expence which reſult from ſuch alliances. I ſhowed you that the ſubject naturally divided itſelf into two branches: Firſt, the effect of theſe alliances, as they relate to the particular concerns of nations, and may influence the internal happineſs and liberties of the people; and ſecondly, as they were likely to retard or aſſiſt the progreſs of thoſe military projects which are gene-

rally the avowed objects for which they are contracted. It was only into the first branch of this subject that I entered to any considerable length, that evening; and I concluded with reflecting on the subsidiary treaty, at this time about to be concluded between *His Britannic Majesty* and the *Emperor of Germany*. There is a part, however, of that treaty for the Imperial Loan which I have not yet touched upon, and which seems well worthy of consideration: I mean the terms upon which the loan is granted, and the delusive prospects held out to the people, relative to the pretended profit to result, whenever *(if ever)* the money so borrowed shall be repaid. It has been insinuated, that the terms of the loan are such that the people of this country are to be gainers two and a half per cent. The Emperor is to pay seven and a half per cent; while the whole interest payable by our Government, taking all the circumstances into consideration, amounts to no more than five; it being well known that the general system is to borrow at three per cent. and that the difference between the price of stock and hard cash makes it but about two per cent. more.

Whether this is the case or not you will presently see. And, in the first place, you will please to observe, that this avowed and evident interest, namely three per cent. paid upon the money borrowed, and also upon the fictitious stock that makes up the deficiency of the nominal fund, is only a part of what the nation in reality pays. For there are bonuses, commission money to the bank and to the brokers, and a variety of charges, of the amount of which those only who are in the habit of adding small items and incidental expences together, can form any idea.

But, Citizens, let us consider the real amount and nature of this loan a little closely, before we suffer ourselves to be deluded with these ministerial fables of profits and advantages. Remember that 4,600,000 pounds, hard sterling cash, are to be sent to the Emperor. That, therefore, in addition to all the expences of the negociation, 4,600,000 pounds is to be borrowed upon the funding system. The consequence will be, when it comes to be reckoned, that so many millions of hard cash, *bona fide* borrowed, amounts in stock to twice the sum specified: that is to say, the loss upon borrowing is so great, that the difference between the *nominal fund* and the sum of money borrowed, all things considered, is nearly two to one; and, of course, to lend the Emperor

Emperor 4,600,000 pounds, we contract a debt of about 8,000,000. But you will recollect, that to buy is one thing and to ſell is another. If it is ſo in the common concerns of life, it is tranſcendantly ſo with the ſtocks and funds in this reſpect. To thoſe gentry who have thought fit to make a common gambling houſe of the change or market of thoſe funds, I ſhall take no notice of the abſolute loſs which reſults from the circumſtances of buying and ſelling, and the riſe of ſtocks, and conſequent loſs to the nation, which would take place immediately, even if this money were now to come into the market again, by means of the fulfilment of the Emperor's pecuniary engagements.

There is another more important circumſtance to be taken into conſideration. If ever this money is paid at all, it muſt be in times of peace. And if it be true that the Miniſter has not already entirely ruined the country, when peace returns, proſperity will in ſome degree return, alſo, and the funds will neceſſarily mount to a conſiderable degree. Now the ſame quantity of money only, that he borrowed in time of war, is to be paid by the Emperor in times of peace: that is to ſay, when the funds are high (ſuppoſe at par) he is only to repay the 4,600,000 pounds, which he now receives when the funds are exceedingly low.

I ſhall not enter into any minute calculations upon this ſubject, it will lead me too far: and minute arithmetical calculations, with me, require more labour than I have time to give them. I ſhall juſt ſtate, however, that Mr. *Fry*, the author of a book entitled "The Guardian of Public Credit," and who is, at this time, about to publiſh a very uſeful and important work on the ſubject of the funded debt, has calculated the proportion of the inevitable loſs; and finds that, upon the ſuppoſition that the loan was to amount to ſix millions, the ſum originally propoſed, the inevitable loſs would be to this nation, 2,657,000 pounds, upon this famous and moſt advantageous contract, even ſuppoſing that the Emperor, for novelty ſake, ſhould keep his word concerning the payment of the debt thus contracted. You will ſee then, that independent of the common loſſes and expences of the negociation; independent of the circumſtance of making a worſe bargain for the Engliſh loan, in conſequence of having a loan to make for the Emperor; independent of all theſe circumſtances, you will ſee that the ſtrong probability would have been, ſuppoſing the whole ſix millions to have been bor-

rowed, that the nation would have loſt, by this bargain, 8,657,000 pounds; but as *only* 4,600,000 were accepted by our Imperial ally, you will find, upon calculation, that the probable loſs is *only* 6,637,000 pounds, and the poſitive loſs, independent of the circumſtances previouſly mentioned, is no more than 2,037,000 pounds. A trifling ſum for the important ſervice of keeping a few *Auſtrians*, *Croats*, *Bohemians*, and *Hungarians*, a little longer in the field, to keep alive the languid flame of war, and avert for another campaign, or ſo, the dreadful calamity of turning the Miniſter out of place, to pave the way for an honourable and permanent peace with the brave inſulted Republic of France.

But let us take into conſideration the facts which have lately tranſpired, relative to the diſpoſitions of the different ſtates of *Europe*. Let us call to our conſideration the conduct of the King of *Pruſſia*. Let us recollect how he has been receiving the money of *Britain* with one hand, and making peace with the *enemies of Britain*—the *enemies of the Britiſh Miniſters*, I mean, with the other.

Citizens, you will remember, alſo, that at the time when the Emperor—for the Emperor of Germany and the King of Pruſſia ſeem as if they intended to prove to the world, that they were of the ſame family—and, indeed, as Kings and Emperors are all of a *race divine*, it may, perhaps, be admitted that there is ſome degree of relationſhip among them all! You will remember, that while he was ratifying the treaty which was to ſecure him the payment of this ſum of money, he, alſo, declared to the Members of the Germanic Body, that he was ready to make peace with the French Republic: by which declaration he in fact did that which the Miniſter of this country will finally be obliged to do—acknowledged the French Republic as one of the orderly and *regular Governments of Europe*.

But you are told by Mr. *Pitt*, that you are not to ſuppoſe the Emperor ſincere, in his declarations to his own ſubjects. There may be ſomething in this: for I conclude that, if the Emperor had been a dealer in ſincerity, he would not have entered into any combinations or agreements with Mr. *Pitt*; nor would Mr. *Pitt* have ever thought of going to his ſhop. You are told that this declaration of the Emperor was a piece of ſtate fineſſe, one of thoſe artifices which are very conſiſtent with *regular Governments*, but which would fix an indelible ſtain upon the morals of a Republic. But, as to the ultimate

mate conſequences, it is little to us, whether the Emperor is *fineſſing* with the Empire, or *fineſſing* with us—whether he is ſincere in his profeſſions of ſending a large army into the field, or whether he is ſincere in his profeſſion of wiſhing to make peace with the *French Republic*; or whether, in reality, conſidering the ſituation in which he is placed, he does not know which he is ſincere in, or whether he is ſincere in either; but finding himſelf a little embarraſſed, applies, in matters of ſtate, the maxim which *Ovid*, in his "Art of Love," enforces to thoſe who are impreſſed with the tender paſſion—

"Speak boldly on and truſt the following word;
"It will be witty of its own accord."

But let us proceed to the ſecond part of our ſubject—Namely, the effects, in a military point of view, of thoſe alliances by which a variety of ſtates (all having different objects, in reality, at heart, though *profeſſing* the ſame deſigns) have endeavoured to preſs and bear down a particular country, or to accompliſh any great and extenſive project whatever.—What has been the degree of energy and conduct, diſplayed by thoſe confederated powers, which, in different ages of the world, have combined their arms to ſubdue others to ſlavery, or ſubject them to perſecution or extermination on account of their opinions, or for whatever cauſe, from the holy cruſades undertaken to gratify the Popes of early times, to the preſent cruſade of Kings, in which the Pope of Rome has been piouſly guarded, by the *proteſtant bayonets* of the Engliſh ſoldiery? Whoever has read muſt remember, that envy, jealouſy, ſuſpicion, miſunderſtanding contention, and a conſequent diſpoſition to thwart each others views and objects, howevever they might profeſs to agree, have univerſally diſtinguiſhed thoſe confederacies, diſgraced their arms, and diſappointed their views. Each potentate, envious of the reputation, and apprehenſive of the power of his colleague, coldly aſſiſts, or ſecretly thwarts his undertakings, and when this mutual jealouſy has produced defeat and ſhame, each exclaims againſt the reſt, to ſhift the diſhonour from his own ſhoulders, and the conſequence has generally been, that diſcord and diſtruſt have produced laſſitude, diſappointment, delay, and, ultimately, retreat and ruin.

But it may be ſaid, that the army to which we are to look for the ſucceſſes of the next campaign, is not to be conſidered as

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an allied army of this mixed and complicated nature; for as it was obſerved by one of the French Generals who retook *Toulon*, that the only troops the Pope ſent were cows and calves, ſo it appears, that in the next campaign, the only troops *Britain* is to ſend are her gold, her ſtores, and her proviſions—if ſhe knows where to find them.

But ſtill we find, though we are no longer able to conduct the war, though our depopulated country, drained of its youth and manhood to the dregs, is no longer able to furniſh ſoldiers for this deſperate ſtrife, ſtill its ſanguinary and inſatiate agitators cannot conſent to give repoſe to Europe—ſtill we are determined to continue our cruſade by the help of auxiliary forces.

But have we duly weighed the general conſequence of a nation attempting foreign conqueſts by the arms of mercenaries? Have we well enquired what has been the general reſult of efforts of that kind? and what has been the general conduct of auxiliaries, when ſuch projects have been purſued?

Citizens, there is a work which, when I conſider the moral complexion of Mr. *Pitt's* politics, I ſuppoſe he has ſtudied night and morning, even from his youth upward. I mean a work called "the Prince," written by the famous Secretary of *Florence*, *Machiavel*: a man of conſiderable parts; tho', taking him to be ſincere in his political maxims, of no ſmall depravity of heart. The *ethics*, I ſay, of this author, our Miniſter has ſtudied with the moſt elaborate care, and has been anxious to try his powers of carrying the precepts into practice. But when I conſider his conduct with reference to the degree of *wiſdom* which it has diſplayed, and conſider how many excellent things there are, in this reſpect, which he might have learned from this ſame *Machiavel*, I then become perſuaded, that the morality which I was before inclined to attribute to the precepts of this maſter, muſt be, in reality, purely and entirely his own, ſpringing from the congenial fountain of his own heart, or *inſpired*, perhaps, by the ſooty Deity he appears to worſhip. For it is difficult to believe, that even the preſent Chancellor of the Exchequer could read a book with the expreſs determination to ſeparate from it and adopt every thing that was morally depraved, and paſs over, or reject all that was prudent, politic, and wiſe. Let me, however, ring in his ears the warning voice of Machiavel, who, upon this ſubject, has many obſervations well worthy the attention of the ſtateſman, and who, at once, by argument and

and hiſtorical facts, might convince him that he is purſuing thoſe meaſures which will involve himſelf and his country in ruin and deſtruction.

Hear then this Machiavel upon the ſubject of auxiliary troops. After having told you that the principal foundations of all ſtates were good laws and good arms, and having proceeded to ſhew the different kinds of arms that Princes may employ, he enters into an elaborate inveſtigation of the nature and uſe of mixed and auxiliary forces, and, grounded in the facts of hiſtory, and aſſiſted by an acute mind, he is led to this concluſion, that no arms are efficacious but thoſe of the individual country, by which they are employed.

"Thoſe arms," ſays he, "that are mercenary and auxiliary, are unprofitable and dangerous; and the Prince who reſts upon them will never be ſecure or ſafe: for they are diſunited, ambitious, undiſciplined, treacherous; inſolent to their friends, abject to their enemies, without fear of God or faith to Man; and the ruin of ſuch a Prince is no longer deferred than till he is attacked." He proceeds, afterwards, to ſhow you that the reaſon is—becauſe "it is not affection for him that keeps ſuch armies in the field: they having no attachment but to their pay; and this is not a motive ſtrong enough to make them willing to die for him."

Yes, Citizens,—it is true: we find that gold will purchaſe men to take away the lives of others. Gold will hire men to ſtab—to ſhoot—to poiſon—or ſwear!—for that is the modern way of aſſaſſination. You may hire a man to be a ſpy and a perjured informer. If he is a little nice, or ſo, in his conſcience, and does not chuſe abſolutely to make the bargain with you in open and direct terms, he may be given to underſtand, that, perhaps, the obnoxious perſon owes him 2 or 300 pounds, and that, if he hangs him, good care ſhall be taken that it ſhall not be loſt. But though people will ſell the lives of others, for the ſake of *recovering a juſt debt*, or the like; nay, tho' ſome would even make a bargain of blood in a direct and public manner, few men will conſent, for a little gold, to be ſhot themſelves; or to get themſelves hanged: that is, *if they know what they are about.* But if a man is employed as a ſpy, who is not clever enough to hang any body elſe, you know, why then he may chance to get hanged himſelf: an appetite for blood, being like all other appetites; and, when a man is keen ſet, he does not like

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to be entirely disappointed, and will rather set down to a coarser meal than he intended than go away with an empty stomach.

But, to resume the observations of *Machiavel*. He tells you, a few pages afterwards, "indeed it appears by experience, that Princes and Republics, with their own forces, alone, execute great enterprizes; and that mercenaries are always prejudicial."

He then proceeds to tell you the effect that this practice of employing mercenaries has on the character of a nation: marking, particularly, the inevitable decay of vigour and spirit among those people who seek to be defended by foreign arms. "Besides, a martial common-wealth, that rests upon its own valour, is not so easily enthralled by any of its citizens as one that depends upon foreign troops. *Rome* and *Sparta* maintained their freedom, for many ages, by their own forces and arms. The *Swiss* are more martial than their neighbours, and consequently more free."

Citizens, we might find a great variety of instances to support and illustrate this principle: and even the royal commentator of *Machiavel*, I mean the late King of *Prussia*, has furnished us with some. He tells us, "Experience has shewn, that the national troops of a state are always the most serviceable; as appears from several examples, particularly from the valour of *Leonidas* at *Thermopylæ*, and from the amazing progress of the arms of the *Romans* and *Arabians*."

But what was the situation of *Rome* when she had recourse to auxiliaries, and mercenary forces? While she had wise and virtuous Ministers, more zealous to preserve than praise her Constitution; not usurping dominion for themselves, but guarding the sacred Rights of Man from usurping destroyers; she then defended herself by the force of her own arms and her own valour; but when the Romans were reduced to a state of degeneracy and slavery, when their great men became their tyrants, and their Ministers their oppressors; then abject Rome, whose ambition survived her energy, was reduced to hire foreign arms, and to fight her battles with hired swords. But, did victory continue to attend them? Were the citizens of *Rome*, when guarded by the savages of the *Danube* and the *Rhine*—the *Croats* and *Hessians* of the ancient world,—were they then delighted, as of old, with songs in praise of their illustrious Generals, with triumphal processions

ſions and wreathes of victory? No, they found that foreign exploits were nothing more than the forerunners of domeſtic miſery and ruin. And, as *Machiavel* well obſerves, "If "we conſider the decline of the Roman Empire, we ſhall "find it firſt proceeded from employing the *Goths*, as mer- "cenaries; by which means the forces of the Empire were "enervated, and all their valour transferred, as it were, to "thoſe Gothic troops."

So ſtrong was the impreſſion made upon the mind of *Machiavel*, by inferences which he drew from facts of hiſtory upon this head, that we find him laying it down, in abſolute terms, that it is better for a country to endure any diſtreſs and ſtruggle, with a brave deſpair, than to permit itſelf to be defended by foreign troops; or to employ the arms obtained by alliances with ſtrangers. "Let every Prince, "therefore," ſays he, "*who would reduce himſelf to an* "*incapacity of conquering*, employ auxiliary arms: for they "are more dangerous than mercenaries." And a little further he ſays, "Wiſe Princes, therefore, have always re- "jected this ſort of forces; and depended upon their own: "chuſing rather to be defeated with theſe than to conquer "with the others: and looking upon that as no victory "which is obtained by borrowed arms."

And very good reaſon there is to think, that nothing deſerves the name of victory which is obtained by foreign arms; becauſe the arms that obtained that victory for them, may, and in all probability will withhold the fruits of that victory. And if the nation, for whom it was made, ſhould have the inſolence to complain, perhaps, the very troops they ſo weakly employed, fluſhed with the inſolence of triumph, and urged by that contempt which it is impoſſible for mercenaries and auxiliaries not to feel, for thoſe who are obliged to hire them, may turn their ſabres againſt them. A victory thus obtained may, in fact, be conſidered only as a prelude to the deſtruction and overthrow of the apparently ſucceſsful country: In ſhort, the project that cannot be effected by the proper force of the particular country that undertakes it, had better never be attempted at all: for the ſame ſort of reaſon, that nothing but bankruptcy and ruin awaits the individual, who embarks in any buſineſs in which he is not competent to conduct himſelf.

But there is one inſtance more, which Machiavel gives, in illuſtration of this maxim, which appears to me ſo exceedingly appoſite to this country, and holds up ſo very

forcible and important a leſſon, that I ſhall not neglect the opportunity, before I quit this ſubject, of reading it to you. "If we conſider the progreſs of the *Venetians*," ſays he, "it will appear that they acted with great ſecurity, ſucceſs, "and reputation, whilſt they made war with their own "forces," that is whilſt they *fought only by ſea*; the *Venetians* being a naval people; a people of commerce, and whoſe ſtrength lay in their wooden walls; and not in troops employed in foreign conqueſts and cruſades. Nor were the *Venetians*, while they were wiſe and flouriſhing, ever diſpoſed to interfere with foreign ſtates, or like our mad and ridiculous Quixottes, to think of ſuch attempts as filling foreign nations with ready made conſtitutions, before which they had been able to take the meaſure.

"The *Venetians* were ſucceſsful whilſt they fought only "by ſea; but, as ſoon as they made a land war,"—What then? Were they merely defeated? No, Citizens; that would have been little; for, in many inſtances, defeat is better than conqueſt. And how calamitous ſoever, to perſons in power, it may appear, and may eventually be, yet I am diſpoſed to think, ſuch is the caſe with us, in the preſent ſituation of this country; and that, calamitous as the times now are, they would be ſtill more calamitous, if it were poſſible that we ſhould ſucceed in the preſent mad cruſade. But defeat was not all that the Venetians experienced. "As ſoon as they made a land war, *they degenerated from* "*their former valour, and adopted the manners and cuſtoms of* "*Italy.*" What were thoſe manners and cuſtoms of Italy, which were ſuch certain ſigns, and concomitants of Venetian degeneracy? Why they conſiſted in *treachery*, in *perjury*, in *ſpying*, and *aſſaſſination*: (the laſt of theſe has not *yet* got footing in England!) An infernal ſyſtem of inquiſition is alſo to be conſidered as a part of the manners and cuſtoms of that Italian profligacy which the *Venetians*, by their bad policy, were led to adopt.

We know very well what ſort of morals muſt ariſe from ſuch a ſyſtem; the page of hiſtory has not left us the dark in this particular; and we know what the ſtate of ſociety muſt become wherever theſe deteſtable Italian faſhions prevail: Where ſpies are planted in every houſe, when men are bribed to become informers, and when, of courſe, individuals are deſtroyed by falſhood, and perjury.

The *Venetians* then, in this ſtate of degeneracy, employed foreign troops to fight their battles; with the gold wrung from

from the induſtrious people of the country, they purchaſed foreign mercenaries, till they loſt, with rapid diſgrace, all that they had been acquiring with great labour and difficulty. We have been told much of this country being made a department of France; and of its being an appendage to the Republic, one and indiviſible. But you have not been warned of the ſtill worſe ſubjugation and ſlavery, proceeding from the vicious morals and the impolitic character which miniſterial practices are introducing into this degenerate country. But be aſſured, when the character of Britain is loſt—when the hearts of Engliſhmen are no longer to be ſtimulated by thoſe warm, thoſe generous and *republican* feelings of liberty, of which, of old, we had not uſed to be aſhamed—and when, inſtead of theſe, we adopt the baſe aſſaſſin-like arts of Italian degeneracy, be aſſured that the independence of this country can no longer be preſerved, and that ſomething, even worſe than becoming a department of the French Republic, muſt inevitably await us. Be warned then by the ſigns and prototypes of hiſtory, and let not, among the reſt, the fate of *Venice* be forgotten.

We are told, that the cataſtrophe produced in the Venetian territory, by admitting this ſyſtem of mercenary troops, was, that "in *one battle*, the Venetians were ſtripped of all "they had been acquiring, with incredible labour and diffi-"culty, for *eight hundred years:* nor is this ſurpriſing, for "the conqueſts that are made by mercenary troops are ſlow, "tedious and weak, but their loſſes are rapid and amazing." Such are the proſpects, even according to this Politician, whom courtiers are moſt in the habit of conſulting, (at leaſt if we judge from the moral complexion of their politics;) ſuch are the proſpects that ariſe from employing foreign mercenary troops; and attempting to ſubdue other countries by the aſſiſtance of auxiliary arms.

I ſhall proceed in the next place to conſider, as briefly as poſſible, what are the characters, the probable views and objects, of our allies; and what may probably be the conſequences to this country, reſulting from the aſſiſtance afforded towards the accompliſhment of ſome of theſe views, by the preſent alliances.

Some of the auguſt perſonages, upon whom it was once my intention to have animadverted with ſome ſeverity, have made it unneceſſary for me to give myſelf any trouble about them on the preſent occaſion.

Reſpecting the Emperor, poor man! whatever character he may have had, it ſeems neceſſary that he ſhould now look ſharply about him, or elſe he will ſhortly have no character at all, at leaſt among the eſtates of the Germanic empire. If we conſider the terms of the ſecond treaty concluded between the King of *Pruſſia* and the *French Republic*, and the effects that treaty may probably produce in Germany, we muſt preſently ſee, that whatever views and objects he may have had, he muſt be diſpoſed to think that the only view he can now profitably have, is, how he may diſappoint the objects of the King of *Pruſſia*; which, ſhould they ſucceed as well as they have begun, may poſſibly transfer the aſcendancy in the Germanic Confederacy to the Houſe of *Brandenburgh*, and annihilate the political importance of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. You are to remember, that one part of the treaty is, that the King of *Pruſſia* and the French Republic have joined together to guarantee the neutrality of ſuch of the principalities of Germany as refuſe to provide their contingents for carrying on the war. It is believed that the Prince of *Heſſe Caſſel*, and the Prince of *Saxe Teſchen*, in conſequence of this, have already declared their determination to avail themſelves of this circumſtance. Be this, however, as it will, it is evident that, if the Circles of the Empire ſhould ſo far ſecond the views of the King of *Pruſſia*, as to be before-hand with the Emperor in making peace, and thereby take advantage of the proffered protection, the Imperial dignity becomes from thenceforward a mere ſhadow—the conſtitution of the Germanic Body is ſhaken to its centre. And yet Mr. *Pitt* ſuppoſes it impoſſible that the Emperor ſhould be ſincere in his avowed readineſs to treat with the French Republic.—Such are the intrigues going on among the Princes of Germany! And ſo much for the faith of our regular governments, the ſtability of allies, and the dependence on alliances.

I conclude then that there muſt be a ſoft part in the head of the Emperor of *Germany*, if he does not turn around, and give a ſharp look-out at his neighbours, leſt, while he is attempting to make the Sans Culottes wear royal breeches again, the King of Pruſſia ſhould ſnatch his Imperial diadem from off his head, and put a red night-cap in its place.

Citizens, I have talked about delineating the character of this Emperor, but I feel myſelf incompetent to the taſk; and for this very reaſon—becauſe it is evident that he has no character to delineate; that he is a man of times and contingencies

cies—whoſe views and maxims have deſcended to him, like his crown, and whoſe grandeur and importance are derived from the taylor who made his imperial robes. He is in ſhort a mere thing of mechaniſm and detail—who upholds this and aims at that, merely becauſe the Houſe of Auſtria have ſo aimed and held for the greater part of the laſt century: and therefore it is (a new order of things having ſuddenly ſprung up in Europe) that he knows not what to do in the preſent exigence, and that his conduct is marked with nothing but indeciſion, incongruity, and abſurdity—yet to ſuch an ally we give 4,600,000l.

But there is another of our allies who is to be regarded in a more ſerious point of view—an ally whom I ſhall treat with the utmoſt gravity and decorum; for you know it is not very polite to level the ſhafts of ridicule againſt the ladies. You will perceive that I can mean no other than our moſt auguſt, moſt active, moſt virtuous, moſt humane, and moſt pious ally, the Empreſs of both the *Ruſſias*. I ſhall not attempt to ſpeak the truth, and the whole truth, relative to this good old lady. No—I remember very well that Lord *George Gordon* was kept in Newgate till he died, for calling the late Queen of France by a name which it was notorious to all the world as properly belonged to her as *homo* belongs to all mankind. I ſhall not, therefore, when I am ſpeaking of this pious, humane, and virtuous Empreſs, talk of wives who murdered their huſbands and uſurped their thrones, and afterwards maintained with blood what had been ſo bloodily obtained. Neither ſhall I attempt to delineate the many inſtances of her piety, and the zeal with which ſhe attempted to convert the infidels of the *Ottoman* empire, by maſſacreing them as faſt as the miniſters of her holy wrath could fulfil her ſanguinary orders. Neither ſhall I delineate again the conduct of her familiar ſpirit *Zuwarrow*, at *Warſaw*.

But there is a part of her character which I think it my duty ſeriouſly to conſider: I mean that part of her political character, by which ſhe appears to me to have been ſtimulated to take part in the preſent intrigues and diſſenſions of Europe. Ever ſince ſhe has been ſeated on the throne of *Moſcovy*, is it poſſible to be blind to the ambitious projects which this woman has been forming? Is it poſſible to be blind to the gigantic ſtrides ſhe has made towards the accompliſhment of theſe deſigns? Is it poſſible to be blind to the conſequent miſchiefs which are riſing from theſe projects? Is it poſſible to be blind to the policy of her preſent conduct? While combinations

binations are forming between the powers of Europe, for objects the moſt extravagant and unattainable, ſhe pretends to make herſelf a party, in order to ſtimulate their frantic activity; and while they are exhauſting their ſtrength in this ridiculous cruſade, ſhe, ſitting aloof from the ſtorm, huſbands her reſources, and reſerves her ſtrength, and, ever and anon, when the combatants begin to grow languid, heartens them up with vague and deluſive promiſes, or rouſes their paſſions with an inflammatory manifeſto.

Does this conduct mark the ſubtilty of intriguing ambition, or does it not? Does it, or does it not look like the conduct of one who has projects that may be advanced by the weakneſs of the reſpective combatants? Is it, or is it not preciſely the conduct ſhe ought to purſue, if ſhe really graſped, as by the late King of *Sweden* ſhe was publicly accuſed of graſping, at the univerſal ſovereignty of Europe? And ought we not to be alarmed leſt we ſhould blindly enable her to dictate laws to Europe; to deſtroy all commerce but that which will add to her own aggrandizement; to make the operations in the preſent cruſade the means of extending her empire over that ocean, the dominion of which we have proudly arrogated to ourſelves? The accompliſhment of ſuch projects may appear very diſtant; but ſhould any event, during the preſent ſtruggle, enable her to ſeize a port in the Mediterranean, the complexion of affairs would be immediately altered; and we ſhould awake from our dream too late.

Cannot the fate of Poland warn us of our danger? Was not her conduct, with reſpect to that unhappy country, perfectly conſiſtent with the ſort of policy I have here aſcribed to her? While the King of Pruſſia was exhauſting his ſtrength and reſources in the field, ſhe remained in politic inactivity. But, no ſooner was he completely weakened, and broken down, and the *Poles* exhauſted by their gallant ſtruggle, than forth ſhe ruſhes upon her devoted prey, reaps the laurels and advantages which *Pruſſia* had ſown, and partitions the devoted country according to *her* pleaſure.

But our Miniſters are too buſy for ſuch ſpeculations; nor would they, in theſe days of ſedition and revolution, be ſo *jacobinical* as to queſtion the views, and principles of the regular Governments of *Europe*. All their energies are engroſſed in trying the grand queſtion between Governments and people, and deciding, by the uſual argument of Courts, the metaphyſical problem "whether the people have a right

"to

" to change their governments, or whether they have not?" Not knowing that the queſtion is already decided, and that, altho' they ſhould reverſe the decree in their chancery of appeal, it would be of no avail, ſince whenever the people are inclined to do it, they will feel that they have not only the right but the power.

Citizens, it would require a greater degree of exertion than, at this time, I am capable of, to enter fully into the views and objects of this good ally: nor is it neceſſary, perhaps, to ſay much more upon the ſubject; for I think there are few people, the Miniſters of this country excepted, who are ſo blind and ſtupid as not have ſome inſight into her projects. Let us ſuppoſe that we continue to carry on this war; that we ſuffer ourſelves to be deluded and cheated as we have been, year after year, and campaign after campaign; continuing all the while to be deluded by the pretences and promiſes of this woman, till the reſources of this country are ſtill further exhauſted, and we ſuffer ourſelves thus to be brought into embarraſſments and diſtreſſes which may be nearer at hand than thoſe men of wealth and property, who plunged us into the war, are inclined to think. In what kind of condition ſhall we then be, to oppoſe any ambitious project which ſhe, unwearied and unexhauſted, may think fit to avow? And, if theſe dangers are preſſing ſo cloſely upon us, as I believe they are, it is not from republicans and levellers, but from the profligacy and infatuation of Miniſters, that this country is likely to be brought to ruin and deſtruction.

Men of more generous hearts than thoſe who have ſo long been rioting in the blood of Europe, would ſeize on the firſt friendly opportunity that opened a way to that mediation which, under ſuch circumſtances, muſt be the firſt wiſh of every one who does not, in reality, wiſh for the deſtruction of ſomething more than that commerce which we have been told ought to periſh, that the rotten boroughs might live.

But ſuppoſe that we have not reaſon to dread all that I have deſcribed. Suppoſe that I have been a little viſionary in my apprehenſions, relative to this Empreſs of *Ruſſia*; yet, ſurely, it cannot be ſaid, that there is *nothing* to apprehend from that quarter, conſidering the great ſtrides which ſhe has been making. Surely it behoves us rather to watch with jealouſy, a power ſo ambitious, ſo cruel, and ſo faithleſs, rather than admit her into a ſort of partnerſhip upon that element hitherto the ſcene of all our glories, but where the treachery

of

of a falſe friend might, in a critical moment, prove more fatal than all the hoſtility of our open enemy.

Such, Citizens, appear to me to be the dangers which threaten us from a continuation of the preſent war, even on the ſide of our allies; if we look, on the other hand, at the progreſs of events at home and on the continent, what is the probable cataſtrophe that ſtares us in the face? Look at our fields, at our manufactories; look at the ſtate and condition of the people—ſee the wants, the aggravated miſeries that have been produced among us! Look at the enormous growth of the public debt, look at the unexampled ſtrides which the Miniſter is making in the accumulation of this debt, during the three years in which we have been engaged in the preſent war! When we look at the facts, we find an expenditure vaſt beyond all compariſon with whatever went before! We find that the taxes are levied with difficulty; and that, notwithſtanding all the boaſts which the Miniſter regularly makes, when he opens the budget, of the flouriſhing ſtate of the finances, and of the proſpect of the reſources of the current year conſiderably more than anſwering the expenditure—yet, that like the morning and even ingtale of the ſluggard, the concluding and the opening account never agree, and when he comes to ſum up the paſt receipts and expenditure, he is always compelled to acknowledge that there has been a deficiency. And what makes this more alarming and ominous, as if we had nearly got to the end of our tether in this iniquitous ſyſtem of ſtock-jobbing, we find, by comparing the facts, that this deficiency regularly keeps pace with the extent of our new loans, and the conſequent increaſe of the public debt; ſo that our taxes are no longer equal, and every year are leſs and leſs equal to the diſcharge even of the intereſt; and we are obliged not only to borrow the capital with which we carry on this mad cruſade, but even, each ſucceſſive year, to borrow freſh ſums to pay the intereſt of the preceding.

Citizens, it requires no nice arithmetic, it requires no elaborate calculations to prove that, if we continue this game of growing deſperation, it muſt inevitably produce a national bankruptcy.

Pauſe then awhile, and think what you are doing! think of the profligacy of your preſent undertakings—think of the waſteful expenditure—think of the miſery, waſte and depopulation, which has already been produced! think what are already

already the appearances of ſociety. Remember how conſiderable a depopulation has already taken place; how many uſeful labourers have been driven to the hoſpitable ſhores of America, where puniſhment for opinion is not known, nor ſtarving induſtry to be heard of; where the firſt law of nature may be followed without dread of famine, and children are not yet a curſe. There, where no frantic father, pondering over the future deſtiny of his offspring, and comparing his ſcanty rewards with his inceſſant and laborious exertions, is tempted to exclaim with poor Belmour in the play—

" I have been thinking which of my three boys,
" Some few years hence, when I'm diſſolv'd in death,
" Shall act the beggar beſt; run barefoot faſteſt,
" Or, with moſt dextrous ſhrug, play tricks for charity."

[*Great impreſſion—and a cry of* " *Encore.*"]

Citizens, the ſpeech I have repeated was given by the Poet to the character of a Gameſter; and none but a gameſter, in any tolerable ſtate of ſociety, ought to be liable (or, ſo ſhort a time ago as the period when the play I quote from was written, could have been liable, in this country) to be driven to give utterance to a ſpeech ſo full of melancholy and horrible images. But now, in England, many an induſtrious tradeſman, and many an upright honeſt member of ſociety, with anguiſh of heart, may be driven to apply thoſe heart-rending lines which, in anſwer to your call, I again repeat, and exclaim—

" I have been thinking, which of my three boys,
" Some few years hence, when I'm diſſolv'd in death,
" Shall act the beggar beſt; run barefoot faſteſt,
" Or, with moſt dextrous ſhrug, play tricks for charity."

FATAL EXTRAVAGANCE.

When, I ſay, you conſider this depopulation, and this miſery; when you conſider the enormous expenditure of the public money; when you conſider the ſhifts to which this proud and inſolent Miniſter is evidently put, even in the midſt of all his arrogance; when you conſider the ſtrides which he is going on to make (like a deſperate ſprendthrift on the eve of bankruptcy!) When you ſee him ſtill conſent to pay millions upon millions, to an ally, who ſcarcely deigns even to promiſe his ſervices in return—when you conſider all theſe deſ-

perate conſequences of the preſent war—the miſeries of the people—the ſymptoms of approaching bankruptcy, the exhauſted depopulation, exhauſted means, and exhauſted patience of the country—are you not led to apprehend a cataſtrophe, too dreadful even for the imagination to contemplate without horror?

But, Citizens, there is another part of the conſequences of the preſent war upon which I cannot be quite ſilent: I mean the conſequent neglect of agriculture throughout Europe. How many fields, upon the Continent, have remained unſown! how many harveſts deſtroyed by the iron foot of war! what cargoes have been conſigned to devouring flames, and floods!

Europe ſees too late, and trembles at the dreadful conſequence. The Miniſter, perhaps, may exult in the proſpect that *France* is on the eve of that famine which he wiſhed to make the weapon of his revenge, againſt all who depart from the ſacred inſtitutions of popery and monarchy! "See," he may, perhaps, exultingly exclaim, "See the miſery I have "brought upon *France!* tho' I could not cope with their re- "publican energies, I have deſtroyed their means of life; "I have pillaged neutral veſſels, and ſeized their ſtores of "grain! it is true it has turned rotten upon my hands! but "ſtill Frenchmen are ſtarving! glorious proſpect! twenty- "four millions of people ſtarving by my machinations! this "is indeed a triumph worthy me!" A triumph? a triumph? Thou monſter look at home. Stand up and face thy country, if thou dareſt; and anſwer for the conſequences of thy infernal plans! the famine, with which you meditated to ſubdue the liberties of France, is gnawing the bowels of deluded Britons; and even the expected relief from our *Canadian* ſettlement has entirely failed!

Such are the proſpects, and ſuch are the conſequences of a mad, profligate, and deſperate war. Such are the fatal effects of national animoſity and deluſion!

I conclude, then, that the probable cataſtrophe of the preſent war is famine, deſolation, bankruptcy, and national diſgrace: a large portion of which it is impoſſible we ſhould eſcape; though, if we have wiſdom, public ſpirit, and determined humanity, we can avoid the worſt part, by lifting up the commanding voice of popular opinion, and immediately abandoning that mad and frantic cruſade, in which it is impoſſible to ſucceed, and in which, were ſucceſs poſſible, its ſole tendency would be to render us more enſlaved and miſerable.

ODE

ODE TO LIBERTY.

BY G. DYER.

HAIL! more refulgent than the morning ſtar,
Gay queen of bliſs, fair daughter of the ſky,
I woo thee, Liberty! and hope from far
To catch the brightneſs of thy raptur'd eye.
While not unſeemly ſtreams thy zoneleſs veſt,
Thy wild locks dancing to the frolic wind;
And, borne on flying feet, thou ſcorn'ſt to reſt,
Save where meek truth her modeſt ſeat may find.
Hail! radiant form divine, bleſt Liberty!
Still rove through nature's walks, and let me rove with thee.

Say, doſt thou chooſe to tread the mountain's brow,
Or haunt meandering ſtream, or wanton plain?
Up the ſteep mountain's height with thee I go;
Or wake by river's brink the merry ſtrain:
Or I will trip the laughing plain along,
A ſimple ſwain, 'midſt hinds and virgins gay;
And ſtill will chant to thee the even-ſong,
Unwearied with the raptures of the day.
And e'en when lock'd in ſleep's ſoft arms I lie,
Still flattering dreams ſhall wake the midnight ecſtaſy.

Or doſt thou chooſe to wear the ſober veil
Of mild philoſophy, and walk unſeen,
Serenely grave, along the cloiſter pale,
Or in the penſive grove, or ſhaven green:
Then will I tend thee on thy ſecret way,
And from thy muſing catch the patriot flame,
Gentle and clear, as the ſun's ſmiling ray
At dawn, yet warm, as his meridian beam,
When wondering nations feel the piercing rays,
And think they view their God, and kindle into praiſe.

Such waſt thou ſeen by Iſis' ſilver flood,
In converſe ſweet with Locke, immortal ſage;
Such too by Cam, with him, whoſe boſom glow'd
With thy ſweet raptures, and the muſes' rage.
Nor leſs with him, who bore to diſtant climes
His country's love, and o'er her miſeries ſigh'd;
Brave injur'd patriot he, in evil times
Who nobly liv'd, and not ignobly died.
Who nobly liv'd, whoſe name ſhall ever live,
While zeal in Britain glows, while freedom ſhall ſurvive.

Or art thou wont to couch with lion pride
Near Britain's genius, ſlumb'ring as in ſre;
Waiting what time thy children ſhall abide
Thy nobleſt form, and glow with pureſt fire?
Sweet ſlumb'rer reſt! yet ſhall the times be found,
When Britain's bards ſhall wake no venal ſtrain,
Her prophets give no more a double ſound;
No more her patriots thirſt for ſordid gain:
And lawleſs zeal ſhall ſink to endleſs ſhame,
Nor longer keep thy ſeat, nor bear thy ſacred name.

But ſhouldſt thou ſcorn at length Britannia's iſle,
Then would I paſs with Penn the dang'rous ſea;
Yes! I would haſten to ſome happier ſoil,
Where tyrants had no rule, no ſlaves obey.
There would I woo thee, goddeſs, heav'nly fair;
Sing my wild notes to thee, where'r I roam;
Britons no more the muſe's praiſe ſhould ſhare,
Tyrants abroad and miſcreants at home—
E'en Britain's friend would publiſh Britain's ſhame;
While barb'rous tribes ſhould hear, and ſcorn a Briton's name—

But ſhouldſt thou e'en from Britain ſpeed thy way,
On Gallia's plains ſtill linger with delight;
And while her patriots hail this ſacred day,
Oh! aid their counſels, and their battles fight;
May tyrants ne'er, thoſe murd'rers of the world,
Auſtria's proud Lord, and Pruſſia's faithleſs king,
Their blood-ſtain'd banners to the air unfurl'd,
O'er freedom's ſons the note of triumph ſing;
Still with the great reſolve the Poliſh heroes fire,
To live in thine embrace, or at thy feet expire.

THE TRIBUNE. N°. XXII.

An Enquiry into the Truth of an Aſſertion frequently made in the "*Honourable* HOUSE *of* COMMONS," That *the* CONDITION *of the* COMMON PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY, *is* WORSE *than that of* WEST INDIA SLAVES. The Second Lecture "*on the Comparative Eſtimate of the* Slave Trade, *the practice of* Crimping, *and Mr. Pitt's partial* Requiſition Bill." *Delivered Friday, February 27th,* 1795.

CITIZENS,

THE number of facts connected with the ſubject, which I am this evening to reſume, occaſioned me, in my former lecture, to run rather more largely into detail than was at firſt my intention; and, therefore, compelled me to leave untouched, or but ſlightly touched, many of the moſt important arguments that relate to this very momentous queſtion.

It appeared to me, therefore, not amiſs to reſume it this evening, and to endeavour to inveſtigate thoſe parts of the ſubject which I, for want of time, hurried over too much or totally omitted, on the laſt evening.

On that evening I began with ſome reflections upon the general character of *Europe*; and was particularly led to condemn the avarice and cruel pride with which it arrogates to itſelf the right of enſlaving the other portions of the globe. My buſineſs, on the preſent evening, is to make a more particular application of thoſe arguments to the character of the nation, a portion of whoſe population I am now addreſſing. And, on this occaſion, I wiſh, from thoſe feelings of vanity every man has, with relation to the country in which he was born, that I were able to draw a picture in which nothing but the moſt pleaſing lines and amiable colours ſhould obtrude themſelves upon the eye. I wiſh it were poſſible for me to delineate a character in which every

thing ſhould excite admiration and applauſe. I am afraid, however, if I diſcharge my duty, by dealing fairly with my countrymen, it will be impoſſible to have ſo grateful a taſk, on the preſent evening: for tho' the ſpark of reaſon has not only fallen upon the Britiſh boſom, but its flame has extended to a conſiderable degree, ſo that there is a great diſpoſition in the minds of the people at large, to benevolence and magnanimity, yet I cannot be blind to the operation of thoſe circumſtances, which have a tendency to introduce, and, thro' a very wide circle, have poſitively diffuſed, characteriſtics of a very different deſcription. I cannot be ſo blind as not to perceive, that, for a very conſiderable time, an illiberal, monopolizing, and *rapacious* ſpirit of commerce has diffuſed itſelf among the people; and, backed by thoſe corruptions that have crept into the government of the country, has tarniſhed the character of Engliſhmen. In ſhort, the over eager purſuit of opulence among one claſs of people, and the conſequent depreſſion of the other, have produced a notion among us totally ſubverſive of the feelings of juſtice and humanity—a ſuppoſition that nothing is reſpectable but wealth; and conſequently, an hardened cruelty, or at leaſt an inſenſibility of diſpoſition, ſo inveterate as nothing but avarice and rapacity ever can impart to the human character.

If there had wanted proofs of the exiſtence of theſe qualities, in this country, the debate in a great aſſembly of yeſterday, would furniſh me with abundant argument to ſubſtantiate the poſition I have laid down. Let any man but caſt his eye, in the ſlighteſt manner, over thoſe arguments which were uſed, in oppoſition to a benevolent and humane motion in that aſſembly, and then let them tell me, whether virtue and enlightened generoſity are, in reality, the only traits of character by which the preſent generation of Britons are to be handed down to poſterity!

Citizens, I ſhall take the liberty of entering into a ſerious inveſtigation of thoſe arguments; becauſe it will ſhew you, to what retreats the friends of ſlavery are driven for ſhelter, and how hard they find the taſk of ſupporting their ſyſtem of enſlaving one portion of the human race, to ſupport the luxurious vices and ſenſual gratifications of another. A learned Alderman has obſerved, that this abolition, the abolition of the ſlave trade, ought never to be aſſented to—why?—not becauſe ſlavery is juſt, not becauſe we are entitled to the limbs, lives, and progeny of the poor blacks, by means of the *divine right* of our white complexions: no, this he does not

not attempt to prove: but, ſays he, the conſequence of ſuch abolition would be the loſs, to this nation, of the Weſt India Iſlands.

If I meant to enter very fully into this part of the enquiry, I am not at all afraid, but that I ſhould be able to prove to you, becauſe it has been repeatedly proved, beyond reply, that this effect would not reſult. But ſuch a diſcuſſion would, I believe, be perfectly ſuperfluous, in more points of view than one—for this is a part of the argument which, notwithſtanding the boaſts of ſome, the grand exploits of others, and the confidence of many, I am much inclined to ſuſpect, will not be urged many ſucceſſive years: for, notwithſtanding ſome apparent ſucceſſes, and

"The fine yellow harveſt we have got,"

If we look at the condition of our iſlands, and the energy of the enemy, and conſider the reſources which, by our perſeverance in the ſyſtem of ſlavery, we give to that enemy in thoſe regions, I am inclined to believe, that the Weſt Indies will be loſt; not by the abolition of the ſlave trade, but by that cruel and rapacious obſtinacy, with which we determine not to relinquiſh that inhuman traffic. For, if we will not *relinquiſh*, there is another nation in *Europe* that will aboliſh it—will tear it up and deſtroy it, root and branch, with the powerful arm of liberty and equality; and with it will go, I have no doubt, or at leaſt ſoon after it, the whole of that ſyſtem of colonization, whoſe ſoil is corruption, and whoſe manure is blood. [*A feeble hiſs.*]

I am delivering opinions, Citizens, not wiſhes. I do not call you together to invoke Deities to further my prayers, or fulfil my prophecies. I call you together to liſten to opinions, which I am convinced are the opinions of truth. With my wiſhes, be they on one ſide or be they on the other, it would be impertinent for me to trouble you: and, therefore, I cannot but conceive, that marks of illiberal diſapprobation muſt ariſe from a trembling conviction that theſe are but too well founded; and the calamity, if a calamity it is to be conſidered, will be traced to the mal-adminiſtration of thoſe, who, having no other way to preſerve their popularity, ſend their emiſſaries into every public meeting, to diſturb the tranquillity of inveſtigation.

I, however, am very doubtful at leaſt, whether the loſs of colonies is, in reality, any calamity to any country. But if

it were, is juſtice therefore to be ſacrificed? Are the ſacred principles of truth and liberty to be immolated at the altar of intereſt? And, for the ſake of wealth and aggrandizement, are we to perſiſt in thoſe practices, whoſe cruelty calls aloud for redreſs, and for the defence of which we have no other argument but intereſted neceſſity, the tyrant's conſtant plea? Yes, ſays the learned Alderman, you are: for, if you looſe your colonies, there is another conſequence behind; a conſequence, connected with that diſpoſition of rapacity which I have been obliged to acknowledge, in ſome degree, to be characteriſtic of my country, the loſs of great part of our revenue, which would, ultimately, endanger the exiſtence of the country.

The exiſtence of the country! the exiſtence of the country! How long are we to be deluded by unmeaning cant? How long has party after party, adminiſtrations and oppoſitions, rung the changes upon thoſe words in our ears? But where is the individual who has told us what he means to convey to our minds by this pompous phraſe? What, does the air of heaven depend upon our revenue? Do our ſtreams derive their ſalubrity, and our meadows their fertility, from our revenue? Do the ſeas, that waſh our ſhores, and waft to us the tribute of the world, depend upon our revenue? Or, is the aggrandizement of parties—the wealth of factions—the general fruit of this revenue?—Is this, I ſay, the exiſtence of the country? And will mankind be annihilated when Miniſters can no longer cover their tables with the wealth of a province, and fill the ſenate, and every department of an intricate ſyſtem, with their creatures and dependents, the hungry conſumers of this revenue!—But, flimſy as this argument is, it is not true. The revenue is not benefited by colonization. I ſtand in fear of no contradiction when I ſay this: and I do not ſay ſo, becauſe the nature of this lecture precludes contradiction; but I fear no contradiction from the world, when I affirm that Colonies do not aſſiſt the revenue of a country. They aſſiſt patronage, it is true, dependants upon Courts and Miniſters they aſſiſt; but they injure the real revenue: for there was never yet a Colony, whoſe revenue equalled the expences of its government. And as for their ſecondary operation upon the revenue, by means of their commerce, the genuine ſpirit of commerce abhors monopoly and reſtraint, and the example of *America* might convince us, that the beſt way to increaſe our trade is to make our Colonies independent.

But,

But, upon what principle, let me aſk, is the idea ſupported, that to revenue we are to ſacrifice the cauſe of liberty and humanity? Alas! the very argument ſtamps, with deep conviction, the juſtice of that character which I felt it my melancholy duty to aſſign to Britain.—Yes, it is my *duty* to convince you that ſuch is the degraded ſtate of our national character; becauſe, till you are convinced of it, you will not lend your virtuous and peaceable efforts to wipe the ſtain away.

Behold the conſequence of this rapacious avarice. Every thing is to be ſacrificed to revenue; without which the wages of corruption cannot be paid. Every thing is to be ſacrificed to the intereſt of a few monopolizing traders; becauſe, unleſs monopoly goes on to an extravagant length, the extravagant projects of corruption cannot be ſupported. It is only by the growth of monopoly, that great revenues can be eaſily collected; and, therefore it is, that wealth is to be held up as the idol of our adoration; that we are to bow down, in reverence, to every thing ſplendid; and that meaſure after meaſure is to be adopted, project after project is to be carried into execution, to keep thoſe who are poor ſtill poorer, to puſh them further down the ladder of ſociety, to confine all favour and preferment to a few wealthy and powerful families, and to make it difficult for any to acquire but thoſe who have already too much.

But to illuſtrate ſtill further this principle of rapacity, and to ſhew you its curious effects upon the rational as well as the moral faculties of its advocates, let us proceed to the curious arguments of that moſt honourable gentleman, Mr. Secretary *Dundas*. He is, you know, an advocate for the gradual abolition of this traffic: a man of moderation: that is to ſay, one of thoſe who, not having the virtue to act right, and finding the wrong to be no longer tenable, endeavours to fruſtrate the cauſe of juſtice, by finding out a middle path between the two.

You will remember, Citizens, that in conformity with this ſyſtem of moderation, about three or four years ago, when every guard and fence of the advocates of ſlavery was beaten down; and the friends of liberty began to exult in the proſpect, that this great fortreſs of tyranny was about to ſurrender to the irreſiſtible artillery of reaſon, *Dundas* ſtepped forward with his unexpected propoſition of gradual abolition, and, under pretence of a capitulation, induced the advocates of juſtice to raiſe the ſiege. It was propoſed by him, that

the

the meaſures for this gradual abolition ſhould not take place till the end of four years." *Four years*, he told you, was a period that would make no very conſiderable difference to thoſe who remained in chains and bondage—four years longer continuance of a traffic, admitted to be a perpetual ſcene of rapine, blood and cruelty, could be no great injury to the cauſe of humanity. Juſt as he told you, on another occaſion, that ſeven months cloſeconfinement was no ſort of puniſhment whatever. " Another reaſon," he ſays, " for " giving four years to the planter was, that he might have " ſome time to furniſh himſelf with ſlaves, and not ſuffer " a ſtagnation or bankruptcy in his buſineſs by a total ſtop- " page."

Can men repeat theſe words, and yet be ignorant of their import? Can they lay down, after laborious examination, doctrines like theſe, and not ſhudder at the conſequences? Has it not been proved to you, that the annual conſumption (for it ſeems that human beings are to be ſpoken of as ſtock in trade!)—that the annual conſumption of Africans in our *Weſt India* Settlements, is no leſs than 60,000. Multiply —for, if we conſider men as property, we muſt ſubject them, like other property, to rules of arithmetic, and ſtrike our balances of debtor and creditor with the coldneſs of commercial preciſion.—Multiply this 60,000 by four, and you find, that 240,000 Africans were to be ſacrificed to the moderation of this humane Secretary—for what?—why to prevent the bankruptcy of a few *Weſt India* monopoliſts. What then—is this the enlightened and generous ſpirit ſo often boaſted by Britons? or is it that ſpirit of rapacious avarice, that regards the lives of mankind, the happineſs and liberties of thouſands, as trifling circumſtances, compared with the hurling of a few wealthy individuals from that rank which their opulence has given them, and caſting them, for a while, into the humbler ranks of life, they have ſo long been in the habit of deſpiſing.

But mark, Citizens, I pray you, the progreſs of this gradual abolition. The four years being nearly paſt, the ſame moſt humane and generous pleader comes forward and tells you, that *a longer time is neceſſary now* than was requiſite at the former diſcuſſion. Though only four years were requiſite four years ago, " more than four years are requiſite now; " and he thinks that the abolition ought, at preſent, to be " deferred indefinitely." This puts me in mind of an anecdote, in ancient hiſtory, of one *Simonides*, a poet and philoſo-

pher,

pher, who was conſulted by the tyrant under whoſe dominion he lived, about the opinion he entertained of the exiſtence and nature of God. *Simonides*, at firſt, required two days to conſider it; two days were granted, and when they were expired, the Monarch expected a reply. But, inſtead of anſwering the queſtion, he required four days more. Four days more were granted, and at the end of theſe he came, not with his reply, but with a requeſt of ſix days longer; and, at the end of thoſe ſix days, he requeſted an indefinite time; "becauſe," he ſaid, "the more he conſidered of the nature "of the Divinity, the more puzzled he was to give an an-"ſwer to the queſtion." And ſo, in the ſame manner, we have a great and mighty ſtateſman, who finds the ſame growing difficulties upon a leading queſtion of benevolence, as the ancient philoſopher and poet did upon the leading queſtion of theology; and he tells you, after having had four years to conſider upon the queſtion, that he is leſs determined in his own mind when the Deity of benevolence ſhall begin to be acknowledged and worſhipped, than he was when he told you, four years ago, that four years only were neceſſary before the temple ſhould be built.

But another reaſon why he now thinks a longer time neceſſary than at firſt is, that in war the planter has not the ſame opportunity of providing ſlaves.

Citizens, we have heard of a variety of trades; and we have heard of a variety of ſpecies of cattle in which traders may deal. In ſome parts of the world they are very famous for dealing in black cattle; with ſome, no cattle are in ſuch repute as the golden calf; and there are other countries in which the cattle are all white. Now it happens, that while the trade of war continues, the traffic in white cattle admits of a quicker return, and, in conſequence of modern improvements in the way of carrying it on, is diſcovered to be more profitable than the trade in black. Thus then, during the continuance of the war, it is not quite ſo eaſy to procure black ſlaves for the plantations, as it is to procure white ſlaves for the ſhips of war, and the ranks of a devoted army: and, therefore, you are told, upon the old ſyſtem of bringing forward one piece of iniquity in juſtification of another, the ſlave trade is to be prolonged till the return of tranquility ſhall enable the planter to get ſuch a ſtock of human cattle as may ſatisfy his conſcientious deſires.

If gold is thus to be admitted as an equivalent for life, if trade is to be ſet up as a thing of more advantage and conſequence

ſequence than humanity, and juſtice, can we be ſurprized that, in the ſame aſſembly, doctrines ſhould be preached ſo abhorrent to the feelings of mankind as thoſe I am about to recite to you? Can we be ſurprized to hear members, in that ſame aſſembly, declare that "liberty,"—hear it Engliſhmen, if you can, reſtrain your indignation and hear it with patience! "that liberty is not the unalienable right of man!" What is liberty then the birth-right only of *Britons?* for it has been called *the birth-right of Britons*, even by thoſe *borough mongers* who ſwindle us out of the inheritance, and then threaten us with the halter for appealing to the title deeds. Is not liberty the right of all human beings? Or is the period come when right is changed into wrong? Are Britons alſo to be conſidered as implicated in this new doctrine? And are they alſo to be taught that their liberties are not unalienable? That they may be ſtolen by violence, or taken away by fraud, and that he, who has once been a free agent, may be reduced to the condition of a ſlave?

Are we ſurprized to hear in the ſame aſſembly, alſo, "that "it would be inhumanity to the people of *Africa*, to leave "them to their ſavage liberty; and that nothing could ex- "ceed,"—Mark, Citizens, the curious argument, "it is "not right to leave the Africans to the poſſeſſion of their ſa- "vage liberty, becauſe nothing can exceed the joy and conſo- "lation which the Negroes, in the *Weſt India* Iſlands, "experience, upon the arrival of a freſh cargo of ſlaves from "*Africa:* and to rob them of this would be to deprive them "of one of the greateſt ſweets of life."

And is this true? Have civilized and enlightened Britons ſunk the ſimple character of ſavages ſo low, that they, alſo, can exult in the chains and torments of their fellow beings? And feel a wicked conſolation, in the midſt of their own ſufferings, by finding that others are rendered as wretched and as hopeleſs as themſelves? If this malignant diſpoſition is, in reality, generated in the breaſts of Africans, by the oppreſſion with which we have treated them, what becomes of the curious argument which Mr. Alderman *Newnham*, thought fit to ſet up.

Citizens, I am no adept in theological queſtions. I do not pretend to ſpeculate either upon the world above or that below. I am ſatisfied with the ſphere I move in. I am ſure I can do no benefit in any other. But divines, I underſtand, have upheld the doctrine that, if it were poſſible for a man to get into heaven, with the paſſions of demons and fiends in his

his boſom, ſtill he would be miſerable; and heaven, itſelf, would to him be worſe than hell. Mark, however, the very different doctrines of the pious Alderman, whoſe words I have before quoted, "he hoped that the ſlaves would have "their reward, in another world, for any ſufferings they meet "in this life: but *while the life of our trade depends ſo mate-* "*rially upon their ſlavery, he would never agree to their eman-* "*cipation.*"

Citizens, I cannot anſwer for the faithfulneſs of reporters; but the newſpapers have given me this as the logic which this *honourable gentleman*—for "they are all honourable men" —uſed in the debate of yeſterday. But let us compare this with other doctrines that have been held in the ſame place, and then let us conſider what are humanity, liberty, and juſtice? We have been told, by ſome of the honourable gentlemen in that aſſembly, that *our commerce was to periſh that our conſtitution might live.* Now we are told, that *humanity muſt periſh that our commerce may live*; and that we muſt never think of emancipating millions of our fellow beings, ſo long as the ſucceſs of our trade depends upon their groans and bondage. What then—*is humanity only a third-rate virtue?* Alas! how blind have been thoſe philoſophers and moraliſts who have hitherto conſidered it as the firſt, the only virtue; and who imagined, that nothing was excellent but only in proportion as it grew out of, or was conducive to this great object! We are now told that it is a virtue of the third degree. That humanity is to yield to commerce, and commerce, in its turn, is to yield to the ſecurity of the emoluments of placemen and penſioners, to the ſacred rights of the proprietors of rotten boroughs!

Citizens, another argument that has been made uſe of, deſerves alſo conſiderable attention. The argument is derived from the dreadful conſequences of enquiry and diſcuſſion: thoſe Jacobinical weapons with which ſome late infamous conſpirators, "who," in the language of the Solicitor General, "carried their criminal enthuſiaſm ſo far as to wiſh "for the eſtabliſhment of univerſal peace and fraternity," endeavoured to effect their diabolical purpoſe.

An honourable member tells you, that "the diſcuſſion," not only the abolition, but the ſimple diſcuſſion, "may be "attended with the worſt conſequences; as it would add a "ſpark to the general conflagration that now rages in "*Europe.*"

I know not what "theſe honourable men" mean by the general conflagration that rages in *Europe*. If by conflagration they mean the war and violence at this time raging over the whole continent, let them throw their cenſure upon the Miniſter whoſe intfigues produced that conflagration. If by conflagration they mean the light of political enquiry, I hope and truſt the friends of liberty, unawed by threats or proſecution, will fan the ſacred fire, will continue to cheriſh it, and keep it alive, altho' their own blood ſhould be neceſſary to feed the flame; and that they will never neglect it till its ſacred light has beamed into every eye, and warmed every heart in the univerſe.

Not ſuch, however, are the ſentiments of thoſe "honourable men" who conſtitute the infallible majority of that honourable Houſe. O, the enquiry is certainly a ſhocking enquiry, echo they. It is a dreadful enquiry at this time. You muſt not touch the ſubject at this period, the terms *liberty*, *juſtice*, *ſlavery*, will ring in your ears for ever, and lead to ſpeculations and principles which at ſuch a time are horrible. True, ſays Mr. Secretary *Dundas*, riſing with the whole weight and patronage of *Scotland* upon his ſhoulders; true, ſays he, heaving and ſtraining under that accumulation of places and emoluments, under which he has the misfortune to groan; true, the ſubject is horrible: "the "iſlands are already in a ſtate of ſedition; and if liberty is "given them, it is probable they will uſe their liberty in a "very improper manner. Let us think alſo of the ſituation "of the affairs at home;" (let us conſider in what a tickliſh ſituation our places, penſions and emoluments are at this inſtant.) "Even converſation on the ſubject, now, can only "excite confuſion and agitation; and, therefore, I wiſh that "the motion had never been introduced."

And then he proceeds to ſhew another excellent reaſon, the neceſſity of ſubordination, why the Houſe of Commons ſhould not proceed with the enquiry till they know the pleaſure of the Houſe of Lords, which has now been three years nodding over the buſineſs. If the Houſe of Commons does not venerate the Houſe of Lords, perhaps the people will not venerate the Houſe of Commons. Such is the interpretation—the plain Engliſh of his argument—for I quote not theſe as his *words*. I ſhall read when I quote: when I make interpretations I deliver them extempore, as my own. This is the true interpretation of his argument in reproba-

tion

bation of the animated and generouſly indignant language of Mr. *Whitbread*, who with a courage and independence worthy a repreſentative of a free and generous nation, reprobated the tardy indifference of the Upper Houſe on this great queſtion.

But mark his words, "The honourable gentleman, in "pledging himſelf to bring forward the motion, over and "over again, if he knew it vain to do ſo, and that their "Lordſhips would be againſt it—he muſt ſay that the gen-"tleman meant miſchief; to excite tumult, by provoking a "*fruitleſs diſcuſſion.*" The author of this motion is a man, who, except upon one queſtion, has always uniformly voted with our preſent upright, heaven-born, and heaven-inſtructed Miniſter: yet Mr. *Dundas* ſays, "if the honourable gentle-"man wiſhed to give the alarm, that juſtice had not been "done by Parliament in paſt years, he ſtirred the embers of "ſedition." How came Mr. Dundas to ſuſpect, that the concluſion from the arguments in yeſterday's debate would be that juſtice had not been done by Parliament? I find no ſuch accuſation from thoſe who argued for the abolition. If I recollect right, there is in an old proverb—ſomething about a guilty conſcience—I refer, however, to the better memory of my audience.

But if we are to admit this ſort of argument, let us conſider awhile the ſituation in which we ſhall be placed. You muſt not agitate, in the Houſe of Commons, a queſtion upon which the Lords have ſhewn a diſpoſition to put a negative; you muſt not meet in popular aſſemblies to deliberate upon "ſubjects which are *in the contemplation* of the Legiſlature;" you muſt never repeat a petition once refuſed; and therefore, the refuſal of the legiſlature, like the laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, is to be conſidered as irrevocable; and it is ſedition to attempt to agitate a queſtion which they ſhew a diſpoſition to lull to ſleep. What then is become of your right to petition? What is become of your right of remonſtrance, if even your repreſentatives muſt not preſs a diſagreeable ſubject upon a confiding Houſe of Commons, without being charged with ſtirring up the ember of *ſedition?* Sedition is a new crime lately ſtarted up among us, and like *Jacobin* and *Buggaboo* may be applied to any thing that the ſpeaker fears or hates. Search me, ye lawyers (for I ſee there are ſeveral preſent) ſearch me your precedents, explore your voluminous ſtatutes, tumble over your high authorities, and ſhew me a definition of this crime, which, like the ſerpent of Moſes,

ſwallows up every thing that comes in his way; or converts to its own ſemblance every thing that is diſagreeable to the Miniſter.

We weakly imagine that we once had rights. If we had, they cannot be annihilated by a *vote*, nor ſuſpended by a *nick-name*. If we have rights, ſurely we have a right peaceably to inveſtigate them; to remonſtrate again and again; to agitate the queſtion to day, to-morrow, this year, and next year, and again and again, till the mind of the legiſlature receives that light which may be ſtruck out among what they call the dregs of the people, by which they may be induced to tread in a new path, and may alter the reſolutions they may have raſhly taken.

But this new doctrine of the paſſive obedience of the *lower* to the *upper* houſe, and of members in oppoſition to a miniſterial majority, this doctrine that we are to bow down, with implicit reverence, and entruſt every thing, without a murmur, to the ſuperintending providence of the *Lords in Parliament aſſembled*, calls to my mind ſome circumſtances which, though not generally known, are worth attention, relative to the manner in which the agitation of this queſtion originated. The fact is, that many of thoſe who firſt ſtarted the queſtion, had no ſort of inclination that it ſhould ever be ſo ſeriouſly attended to;—that it was, in ſhort, *a mere party job*. In order, ſays one, to keep the popular attention from grievances at home, let us enter into an enquiry reſpecting oppreſſion abroad. Let us impeach, year after year, ſeaſon after ſeaſon, and Parliament after Parliament, a man whoſe only crime is having obeyed with zeal the maſters whom he ſerved, and whoſe ſyſtem, iniquitous as it is, is not only ſactioned, but cheriſhed and encouraged by the exiſting government. Let us talk, alſo, of the rights of black men, leſt the rights of white men ſhould be too much diſcuſſed. Let us go to *Africa* and the *Weſt Indies*, that while the attention is engaged in things abroad, thiugs at home may go on to our liking. Bnt their opponents were longer ſighted than themſelves. They ſaw thro' the thin diſguiſe, and determined to fight the enemies of liberty with their own weapons. They ſaw that, with proper management, the diſcuſſion of this queſtion might lead to the diſcuſſion of principles, which afterwards they could apply to practice at home; and thus, as I have been told by a very valuable character, whoſe name I ſhall not mention, becauſe he has already ſuffered enough from the iron hand of oppreſſion,—ſuffice it to ſay, I have been

been told this by one of the foremoſt of the agitators of this diſcuſſion, that the cauſe of the poor Africans was made a mere ſtalking horſe by both parties; many of the firſt, and apparently the moſt zealous promoters of the cauſe, having no other view than to promote their reſpective deſigns at home. In ſuch a project, it is not eaſy to conceive which party muſt inevitably be worſted. And now that the ſupporters of old abuſes, perceive, too late, the conſequences, they want to cruſh the enquiry entirely; becauſe they find that, inſtead of diſtracting the popular attention from grievances at home, it has rivetted their attention to the principles from the neglect of which all abuſes ſpring.

But Sir *William Young*, with arguments as brilliant, and as weighty as if they were juſt come freſh from the mint, contradicts the language of Mr. *Dundas*, relative to the ſeditious diſpoſition of the iſlands. He finds another argument to build upon, and therefore proceeds without ceremony to pull down the argument of his friend: and thus, ſays one of theſe honourable gentlemen, in reply to the other gentleman equally honourable. "The ſlaves *are very loyal to their* "*Maſters!*"—We underſtand now, it ſeems, what Courtiers mean by *loyalty*. I thought it meant reſpect and obedience to laws fairly made and impartially executed. But Sir *William Young* conceives *loyalty* to be *a blind and implicit obedience to thoſe, who think proper to laſh us when we dare to murmur*. "The ſlaves are very loyal to their maſters; and (this argument is worthy ſome obſervation and attention) "*there* "*are no peaſants in this country more happy than the negro* "*ſlaves.*"

What, Citizens, is it an argument to prevent us from doing juſtice to the ſlaves in the *Weſt Indies*, that the people of this country are reduced to a ſituation equally deplorable with thoſe negroes, whom they half deſpiſe, and half pity. But this is thought too cold by the learned Alderman whom I have ſo often quoted. He ſays, "I affirm that *the condition of* "*the negroes is happier than that of the poor among our-* "*ſelves.*"

Citizens, I know not whether this is one of thoſe ſtatements which the orator thought ſelf-evident, and therefore did not deem neceſſary to purſue any further; or whether it was one of thoſe ſudden rays of light and truth, which burſt in upon the mind ſometimes in the heat of inveſtigation. But ſuppoſing the latter to be the caſe, I am rather inclined to think, that if this opinion had ſuggeſted itſelf a little earlier,

when

when he was preparing the brilliant ſpeech by which he hoped, no doubt, to recommend himſelf to ſome freſh contract, or little *bonus*, he might have purſued the argument much further, and thus continued his oration—

"Nay, Mr. Speaker, ſo incontrovertible is this argument, "that it might not only be ſupported by the actual experience "of every *honourable member* of this *honourable houſe*, but I "have abſolutely written documents and calculations in my "pocket by which I could demonſtrate it to this *honourable* "*houſe*: nay I can produce proofs from the writings even of "the jacobinical advocates of the abolition of the ſlave trade "themſelves to ſupport me:—for if this *honourable houſe* "will turn to the work of one Citizen *Wadſtrom*, on Coloniſation, page 12, this honourable houſe will find theſe "words. As to the traffic of the ſlave trade, as the Whites "practice every fraud upon them in the quantity and quality "of the goods delivered, and in trepanning their perſons, "the blacks cannot carry on equal trade on equal terms, "without reſorting to ſimilar practices. As to the injuſtice, "cruelty and rapine, which, at the inſtigation of the Whites, "they practice on one another, they are not more diſgraceful "than the well known trades of *crimps* and *kidnappers*, and "*preſs-gangs*." (The conſequences of all which, as this *honourable houſe* well knows, falls entirely upon the lower orders of ſociety). "All of which," he continues, "are carried "on without foreign inſtigation, in ſeveral European countries, and even protected or connived at by their governments."

"Nay, Mr. Speaker, it would require no great eloquence to convince you, that the parallel between the two "ſituations is much more cloſe than this *honourable houſe* "would at firſt ſuppoſe; nay, and that wherever there is a "difference, that difference is in favour of the blackamoor "negro ſlave. For are not the people of this country ſuddenly ſeized and carried to crimping houſes, juſt as the "blackamoor negroes are in *Africa*? where they are kept as "long as pleaſes their maſters, or till they can find an opportunity to diſpoſe of them! Are not the common people in "England, like the blackamoor negroes in Africa, treated "with hard labour, little kindneſs, and leſs food? Are not "thoſe who are kidnapped and doomed to fight for us, *will-they* "*nill-they*, puniſhed with ſtripes and blows, as this *honourable houſe* knows very well? And are they not crammed "down into miſerable holes, and dungeons, and all that ſort

of.

" of thing? Suffer me to call to the attention of this *honour-*
" *able houſe* the miſerable ſituation of poor Engliſhmen—in
" crimping houſes, and preſs-houſes, and tender-holds, and
" I am ſure this *honourable houſe* will then perceive that the
" blackamoor negroes ought to be very well contented ſo
" long as white Engliſhmen, whom this *honourable houſe*
" knows are of the ſame fleſh and blood with this *honourable*
" *houſe*, are treated in ſuch a manner. Nay, and for matter
" of that, if we were to do any thing for theſe here blacka-
" moor negroes, thoſe there Jacobins might, perhaps, ſay
" rightly enough, that, if we are to be reforming, we ought
" to begin reforming evils at home, before we go abroad:
" for *charity begins at home*, ſays one of our wiſe old ance-
" ſtors; and if this *honourable houſe* does not reſpect the
" maxims of our wiſe old anceſtors, how ſhould the people,
" you know? And ſo, as I was ſaying, Mr. Speaker, I will
" prove to this very thronged repreſentation of the people,
" that the impreſs holes, and the dungeons of crimping-
" houſes, and the tenders, and all that, are worſe than any
" thing the blackamoor negro ſlave experiences. For I am
" enabled to aſſure this honourable houſe, that poor Engliſh-
" men, when they are impreſſed, are thrown into a place
" called the hold: where they are kept, day after day, to
" compel them to enliſt, upon bread and water juſt ſufficient
" to keep life and ſoul together; and, if they lie down to
" ſleep, the rats, that run about the hold, diſturb them by
" gnawing and tearing the hair off their heads. I am glad,
" however, that our wiſe Miniſter is about to tax powder;
" for poor men will not now be in ſo much danger of having
" their hair gnawed off in theſe moſt miſerable dungeons:
" becauſe why? there will not be any powder and pomatum
" to tempt them. Whereas the rats, now, ſometimes eat
" their hair, and ſometimes their ears, ſo that when the poor
" men are induced to enliſt, they look as if they had been in
" the pillory. And, Mr. Speaker, to keep up the parallel,
" and ſhow *this honourable houſe*, that the condition of thoſe
" blackamoor negro ſlaves, on the *Weſt India* iſlands, is not
" worſe than the condition of the lower orders of the people
" in this country, I ſhall aſk *this honourable houſe*, What is
" it but ſlavery, to toil fourteen or fifteen hours a day; and
" after that, not to get a decent ſubſiſtence for their wretched
" families? What does *this honourable houſe* think ſlavery is?
" Does it not conſiſt in ſtripes and bondage? In the whole
" produce of your labour going to thoſe who have not toiled

" with

" with you, and nothing but wretched offals left for you?
" What is ſlavery? but having no rights, no power to mend
" your condition, nor no power of getting redreſs from the
" laws: which *this honourable houſe* very well knows, while
" law is ſo dear and wages are ſo low, no poor man can
" poſſibly get in this country. Nay, Mr. Speaker, is it not
" admitted, that the principal difference between freemen
" and ſlaves conſiſts in the one being governed by laws of his
" own making, and the other by laws made by his maſters:
" becauſe why? we all love ourſelves beſt: and they who
" make laws will always make them for their own advantage:
" and they who have nothing to do with making the laws
" will have no advantage at all. Now, it is well known to
" *this honourable houſe*, that the common people in England
" have no more ſhare in making the laws than ſo many
" blackamoor negroes; and therefore, that they are ſlaves.
" And as, here in England, thoſe who toil and bleed for us,
" are robbed of all their rights becauſe they have ſo toiled
" aed bled; now what is this but ſlavery? And, therefore,
" what neceſſity can there be for aboliſhing the ſlave trade,
" when the blackamoor negroes are no worſe off than our
" own people. For what though we have a *Commons'* Houſe
" of Parliament, is it not very well known that the *common*
" people have no right to vote for them? And, therefore,
" Mr. Speaker, one ſet of people making laws by which ano-
" ther are to be governed *will-they nill-they*, makes them ſlaves;
" and as the ſlave trade goes on here as much as in *Africa*,
" with this difference, that the ſlaves, who are ſeized and
" ſold by crimps and preſs-gangs, and the like, are ſold not
" to work in plantations, but to be ſhot at, in a war, in the
" ſucceſs of which, if ſucceſs were poſſible, they can pro-
" miſe themſelves no advantage whatever."

Such Citizens is, I ſuppoſe, the ſort of argument which this learned Alderman would have made uſe of if he had had time for that conſideration which the ſubject demands. He might, alſo, perhaps, have animadverted upon the pending requiſition bill. He might, if he had choſen, have animadverted upon the *unconſtitutional* powers veſted by this bill in the hands of Juſtices of the Peace: ſuch as the clauſe that " Juſtices of the Peace for the ſeveral diviſions,
" are to hold a Court of general ſeſſion, for hearing, as the
" laſt reſort, the appeals which may be made from the re-
" ſpective pariſhes;" by which, without any trial by jury whatever, the liberties, and ultimately the lives of our fel-

low

low citizens, in the lower orders of ſociety are to be determined upon. Of the ſame deſpotic complexion, he might have ſaid, is the clauſe, " that petty ſeſſions are to be held, " to receive the return of the pariſhes to ſuch orders, and to " atteſt and inrol the men to be raiſed; and for hearing the " appeals of pariſhes, &c. againſt the proceedings of regu- " lating officers;" and this, which is, perhaps, the moſt " extraordinary of all, that " if returns of men, for any " pariſh or place, ſhall not be made within three weeks after " the ſervice of the order by the Conſtable or Tything-man, " the Juſtices, in Petty Seſſion, may ſummon the Church- " wardens and Overſeers, making ſuch default, to appear " before them; and if it does not appear to the ſatisfaction " of ſuch Juſtices, that ſuch default has been unavoidable, " and hath not happened by wilful neglect, they are required " to fine the Churchwarden," without trial by jury, without examination of witneſſes in open Court, " they are re- " quired to fine the Churchwarden, in the ſum of thirty " pounds for each man!!! to be levied by warrant and diſ- " treſs on the goods and chattels of ſuch churchwarden, &c. " and Overſeer. If the Churchwarden neglects to attend " the ſummons, as above, he may be fined any ſum from " twenty pounds down to five pounds," without trial by jury; without any ſort of trial whatever. By the arbitrary will of the Juſtice of the Peace, he may be " committed to " the common goal, without bail or mainprize, for a ſpace " not more than a month, nor leſs than a fortnight." And, all this for not being ſufficiently vigilant in crimping, buying and inveigling thoſe poor ſlaves, called the common people of England, into the worſe than plantation drudgery to which this bill conſigns them!

It might be aſked, What are the reaſons, why theſe clauſes receive not the ſame reviſion which others, which bore leſs hard upon more opulent claſſes, have received. The anſwer is obvious, the reviſed clauſes affected a ſet of men, who not only have repreſentatives, but influence and weight, and whoſe complaints could not be treated with contempt. But as for theſe unaltered clauſes, they are parts of the general ſyſtem. Juſtices of the Peace are appointed by the Crown; and it is neceſſary, every now and then, to be veſting additional power in their hands, that they may *keep the lower claſſes of people in order*; who, if they had the Jacobinical right of trial by jury, might have juſtice done to them, when it would be more convenient for the exigencies of the ſtate (that is to ſay, the exi-

gencies of Miniſters and placemen) that they ſhould be hurried on board a tender, or thrown into a dungeon, without any opportunity of vindication. For this it is that power is to be veſted in Juſtices, to ſend on board the tenders *all whom they think proper to determine* "have no viſible mode of ſubſiſtence!" And thus any man, who has rendered himſelf obnoxious to theſe petty Deities, without poſſibility of redreſs, may be ſeized and hurried on board a tender, to toil and bleed, at once a Briton and a ſlave.

I am aware, Citizens, that many other arguments might alſo be adduced, to prove the truth of the poſition, that "*the condition of the lower orders of the people in this country is as bad, nay in ſome reſpects perhaps worſe, than that of the poor Africans, who are doomed to ſlavery in our Weſt India iſlands:* who toil for the luxuries of others, but want themſelves the neceſſaries of life; who furniſh the nectar that enlivens our banquet, but who pine in ſorrow and hunger; drink their own tears, and eat (at the known peril of the moſt barbarous puniſhments) the tops of the green plants which their own toil has reared.

Yes, Citizens, I know it is not only in the Weſt India iſlands, where miſery pines, where groans are heard, where anguiſh ſobs in the cheerleſs gale, and breaks the ſilence of the joyleſs night. No, in the wretched cabins of the poor artificers of this country, I have ſeen myſelf famine and diſeaſe, ſhuddering under the mouldering roof, and crouching over a few mouldering embers that no longer emitted one ray of comfort.

Go, Citizens, to that part of the town where our weavers once reſided in cheerful abundance; but where now want, nakedneſs and miſery unſpeakable, throng every ſtreet, and make each tenement a peſt-houſe. This I have witneſſed, myſelf, before the iron hand of power tore me from the ſphere of my active exertions in behalf of my fellow citizens. How muſt that affliction have been aggravated during that ſeaſon whoſe ſeverity has reached even the joints of affluence and grandeur, through folds of ermine and double wadded doors. How many of theſe poor beings muſt have fallen victims to that piercing ſeaſon? The bills of mortality may repreſent them, perhaps, as dying natural deaths; but famine, miſerable famine was the real cauſe of thoſe diſeaſes which brought them to their miſerable end.

Relieve this ſlave-trade then, ye friends of humanity!—Aboliſh unneceſſary war; aboliſh unneceſſary places and penſions;

ſions; let not one hundred and ſixty-two borough-mongers conſider themſelves as the ſole electors of that aſſembly which, as it legiſlates for all, ought to repreſent the whole population of the country.

O Wilberforce, if thou art indeed that man of humanity which thy zeal in the cauſe of the wretched Africans would lead us to believe, ſeek not ſo wide for objects of thy benevolence; nor expect that redreſs can begin in the weſtern hemiſphere. The ſeed, the root of the oppreſſion is here; and here the cure muſt begin, If we would emancipate our fellow beings, in whatever part of the world, it is not by becoming ourſelves the ſlaves of a Miniſter that ſo noble an effect can be produced: if we would diſpenſe juſtice to our diſtant colonies, we muſt begin by rooting out from the centre the corruption and oppreſſion by which that cruelty and injuſtice is countenanced and defended.

Citizens I am warm. I cannot withhold my honeſt indignation. I cannot "ſee the ſufferings of my fellow creatures "and own myſelf a man," without feeling the boiling blood ruſh round my heart in ſtronger tides. Let me not, however, by an imprudent warmth, ſtimulate you too far. Judge me, thou Poſterity, who, without the paſſions and prejudices of the preſent day, ſhalt view my actions and ſhalt read my heart—I wiſh not to rouſe to violence. I would warm your hearts with a holy flame; I would awaken the ſettled glow of humanity, not impel you by the volcanic exploſions of anarchy and bloodſhed. I deteſt, I abhor alike the aſſaſſin's knife, whether openly brandiſhed by uſurping power, or hid under the cloak of conſpiracy.

THE HORRORS OF ROYAL AMBITION.

From the BATTLE *of* BARNET, *a Poem in the Peripatetic*

ACCURS'D remembrance of inteſtine rage!
Lo! friend with friend, and kin with kin engage!
Then frantic Britain arts and laws forſook,
Let ploughſhares ruſt, and broke the paſtoral crook;
While harpy Diſcord wak'd the brazen ſound,
Whoſe ſavage blaſt each ſocial feeling drown'd,

And

And call'd her hinds, in each fierce baron's train,
To ſpread a bloody harveſt o'er the plain;
With War's dread ſcythe the horrent fields to mow,
And lay the boaſt of human virtue low
At each ſtern Maſter's feet, whoſe fickle pride
Waver'd, in direful doubt, from ſide to ſide:
As intereſt prompts (but dimly underſtood)
As private pique, or daring thirſt of blood,
As ſordid bribes, or harlot ſmiles inſpire,
Or ſpleenful Humour whets the fatal ire,
Each brutal chieftain arms, with impious joy,
And feels the dire ambition to deſtroy:
Thro' kindred ranks red Slaughter breaks their way,
And pomps of heraldry their crimes diſplay.
See helm on helm, and thronging ſhield on ſhield,
With proud devices darken all the field;
From ſword to ſword the beamy horror plays,
And from throng'd lances waſting lightnings blaze;
While high in air the threatning banners ſpread,
The white roſe here, and there the flaunting red.
The dire alarm prophetic vultures ſound,
And groaning myriads glut the purple ground:
While titled heroes hence their honours claim,
And float on vaſſal blood to impious fame.
"O! thou fond Many!" what hadſt thou to do
In kindred blood the corſlet to imbrue?
Ah! what avail'd the name the tyrant bore
Who trod your necks, or tax'd your hard-earn'd ſtore?
One orphan'd babe defenceleſs left to ſigh,
One briny tear that waſh'd the widow'd eye,
If juſtly weigh'd, had wak'd a ſharper pain
Than Edward's exile, or than Henry's chain.
But York's nor Lancaſter's proud claims ye knew;
For humbler tyrants ye the falchion drew.
As herds to ſlaughter by their owners led,
Dumb, and unconſcious of the cauſe, ye bled:
The *titled ruffian* the pretence ſupplied;
And as *he* frown'd the abject million died:
Each petty Jove, their madneſs to inflame,
Shouts the dread thunder of his worſhip'd name;
His blazon'd Ægis ſhakes; and thick they fall,
Till univerſal Darkneſs threatens all:—
O'er all the realm one night of Horror lowers,
And huge Deſtruction, unreſtrain'd, devours;
With ſtride exulting ſtalks around the coaſt,
And ſnuffs the offerings of each vaſſal hoſt!

[*To be continued.*]

THE TRIBUNE. No. XXIII.

ON *the Importance of avoiding perſonal Factions and Diviſions, among the Friends of Reform*—The introductory Lecture of the Autumnal Courſe; *Delivered by* J. THELWALL, *Wedneſday, September 2d*, 1795.

CITIZENS,

IT is with great pleaſure I meet you once more, under circumſtances, I believe, conſidering the ſtate of the public mind, ſtill more auſpicious to the cauſe of liberty than thoſe under which we parted.

During the laſt ſeaſon, the anxiety and zeal with which, in common with thouſands of my fellow citizens, I was prompted to labour in the public cauſe, became ſo far injurious to my health, that my life was in danger of falling a ſacrifice to my exertions. I come now before you with my health in ſome degree recruited, ready to repeat thoſe exertions; wiſhing not by them to make myſelf any thing, but deſiring to make the cauſe of liberty and the triumph of human felicity all in all, both to myſelf and you.

Citizens, you will permit me to beſpeak your candour. The exertion neceſſary to addreſs you, at the opening of a ſeaſon, is much more conſiderable than thoſe, who have not been in the habit of public ſpeaking can ſuppoſe. Even this ſhort receſs occaſions me to come before you again with that trepidation and anxiety, which the importance of the cauſe I am labouring in, is well calculated to increaſe. There are always great advantages to be encountered on the renewal of any exhibition, of any kind, after a vacation; and which muſt particularly operate when every thing depends upon the mind and exertions of the individual; and when he is to truſt to the moment for that expreſſion with which he wiſhes at once to bring conviction to the judgment, and rouſe the amiable feelings of the ſoul. This difficulty is ſtill more increaſed from the impediments thrown in the way of mental preparation, by the attention I have been obliged to pay to the enlargement of the room, and the arrangement of the accommodations neceſſary for the throngs of auditors, who honour this place by their attendance. I truſt, therefore, you will

liſten with candour to the efforts I make this evening, and that you will paſs over thoſe defects which reſult from the circumſtances under which I ſtand, and attribute them to the right cauſes.

Another diſadvantage I labour under, upon this occaſion, reſults from my having been induced, by particular circumſtances, to make ſome alteration in my plan. It was my intention to have commenced this courſe with a very different ſubject from that which I am going to bring before you. During my receſs my time has been, of courſe, divided between contemplating thoſe beauteous ſcenes, which abound in the part of the country I retired to, viewing the ſtate of ſociety, (calamitous and miſerable enough, indeed, even in the midſt of that Eden of fertility!) and in directing my mind to thoſe purſuits which might better enable me to do juſtice to the arduous ſituation in which I ſtand. Theſe circumſtances co-operating together, with the accident of having devoted ſome ſerious attention to the political works of Hume, and particularly my having fallen, in this courſe of reading, upon his eſſay on eloquence, induced me to chuſe, as an introduction to this courſe of lectures, an enquiry into the natural connection between eloquence and liberty, and a refutation of ſome of the ſophiſms which that ingenious philoſopher introduced into that eſſay, not very friendly to the cauſe of truth and liberty. I had occaſion, however, as ſoon as I came to London, to change this plan. I had the mortification to obſerve, that among the friends of liberty and reform, there were ſtrong ſymptoms of the growth of a diſpoſition to *envy*, *faction*, and *diviſion*, againſt which every true friend to the rights and happineſs of mankind will be anxious to ſet his face.

I am well aware, and you will eaſily perceive, that nothing can be ſo fatal to the progreſs of liberty as a ſpirit of this kind; and that, therefore, there is nothing which it is ſo important to expoſe in proper colours, that it may become the object of hatred and avoidance to thoſe who, but for thus contemplating it, might be deluded to be the tools of perſonal faction, when principles, and not men, ought to be the objects of their attention; and when the happineſs of millions, and not the quarrels and contentions of rivals or calumniators, ought to engroſs the faculties, and call forth the energies of the human mind.

Citizens, I am not deſirous of inflaming but of healing diviſions, and I will admit that a diſpoſition to *ſuſpicion*, which

which is one of the chief cauſes of thoſe factions, into which the advocates for the cauſe of liberty ſo frequently ſplit, does not always, as at firſt ſight one might be led to ſuppoſe, proceed from the worſt and baſeſt of motives that actuate the human mind. There are generous qualities in the characters of men ſo nearly allied to certain vices and foibles, that it is not found a very difficult matter, amongſt the agents of corruption, to turn the very virtues that ſhould warm our boſoms into ſcorpions to ſting our peace; and, inſtead of ſuffering them to be conducive to our happineſs, to make them inſtruments of our deſtruction. If we conſider the real character of the principle of liberty, we ſhall find that it is naturally connected with a certain degree of jealouſy. The great importance of the principle we are contending for, occaſions a thouſand anxieties relative to thoſe whoſe exertions we look up to for the promotion of its ſucceſs: as the tender mother ſuggeſts a thouſand fears and apprehenſions, relative to the welfare of her babe, while the hireling regards, with perfect indifference, all thoſe probabilities of injury and danger with which the little cherub may appear ſurrounded: So, frequently, in our anxiety and zeal for the cauſe of liberty, in our conviction of the great importance of promoting that principle, we are apt to have our minds perturbated with a thouſand needleſs apprehenſions, and frequently to glance the eye of ſuſpicion at the actions of our fellow citizens, when, if we had the cauſe leſs at heart, this feeling might not be ſo prevalent.

I am, therefore, ready to make ſome apology, for thoſe who may be active in diſſeminating ſuſpicions: but I wiſh it to be remembered how far this apology ought to go. We may *excuſe*—we ought to *applaud* the man who weighs every circumſtance, who ſcrutinizes every action, who dives to the very bottom of the ſoul of any individual, or ſet of individuals, before he repoſes that confidence in them, which, if they are unworthy of it, they may hereafter abuſe to the injury of the cauſe: but there is a wide difference between *caution* and *calumny*; between *jealous circumſpection*, and the *factious ſpirit of cabal and ferocious denunciation:* one may be excuſed from the good qualities of the heart or ſoundneſs of judgment which frequently produces it: the other, if it does not proceed from the worſt of diſpoſitions, muſt certainly reſult from the blindeſt infatuation; and I warn every friend to the cauſe of liberty, at the ſame time that he keeps the Argus

eye of jealous ſcrutiny upon the conduct of every man, at the ſame time that he anxiouſly forbears to repoſe any more confidence in any man than reſults from the *neceſſity* of the circumſtances under which we are placed may require,—I warn every friend of liberty to avoid that malignant diſpoſition to calumny, ſuſpicion, and denunciation, which has diſgraced the otherwiſe glorious revolution of France; has brought to the grave ſo many virtuous and enlightened characters; has annihilated ſo much intellect, that might otherwiſe ſtill have been flaſhing light, truth and conviction through the univerſe; and has occaſioned that country, after all its ſtruggles for the glorious principle of equality, to go backward, inſtead of forward, in the career of truth and juſtice; and to relinquiſh ſome of the moſt noble principles that were ever propagated for the felicity and moral advancement of man.

Citizens, this diſpoſition to jealouſy which actuates, and which under proper regulations, ought to actuate the breaſts of thoſe who are zealous for the cauſe of liberty, has not eſcaped the obſervation of the tools of miniſterial corruption. The ſpies and agents of the infernal ſyſtem of *deſpotiſm veiled under the ſemblance of law and conſtitution*, deſpairing of ſucceſs from other efforts, conſcious that, like all men engaged in a bad cauſe, every ſtep that they take to extricate themſelves from the difficulties into which they are plunged, will but embarraſs them ſtill more;—conſcious that every effort they make to cruſh the cauſe of liberty, and extinguiſh the light of human reaſon, does but recoil upon themſelves, and, like the flail in the hand of the unſkilful threſher, deſtroy—not the *brains*, it is true, but the *heads* of thoſe who wield it;—finding that their attempts to deſtroy the advocates of liberty, have but promoted the cauſe, and that, by ſtretching too far the ſtring of deſpotiſm, they have ſo deſtroyed the energy of the bow of power, that it will twang no more, as uſual, nor drive home the darts of perſecution to the hearts of thoſe whom they wiſhed to deſtroy—Conſcious of this, they have changed their mode of conduct; and being no longer capable of deluding themſelves with the expectation of ſucceſs, by exertions in the open field, they ſkulk behind the walls and buſhes of pretended patriotiſm, and thence attempt, by covert arts and ſecret machinations, treacherouſly to deſtroy thoſe who, invincible in the truth and juſtice of their cauſe, laugh at the malice of open perſecution, and defy the ſtorms of their arbitrary authority. Panic ſtruck alſo at beholding

beholding, and who ſo blind as not to behold, the rapid diffuſion of the principles of liberty through every rank of the community, they feel themſelves called upon for ſtill ſtronger exertions at a time when their folly and their injuſtice has palſied the arm of miniſterial authority, and occaſioned the once omnipotent hand of corruption to ſink liſtleſs by the ſide they wiſh in vain to defend: feeling this they appeal to their laſt reſort—they attempt to divide thoſe whom united they cannot prevail againſt, but whoſe attachment to the cauſe of human happineſs it is impoſſible for them to forgive.

"We have knit ourſelves together, ſay they, in one phalanx; diſtinctions of *Whig* and *Tory* we have buried in oblivion; and, thus united, with the legible proclamation on our foreheads, that we never had any other principle than the principle of getting into place when out, and keeping in when in—With this proclamation, engraved in braſs, and ſtuck upon every frontlet, we have armed ourſelves with lawleſs arrogance, and with this weapon and this impenetrable helmet, we wiſh to protect ourſelves in the places of power and emolument, which, at the expence of almoſt thirty millions of taxation upon the groaning people, we have monopolized to ourſelves: but it is in vain that we have made our citadels ſo ſtrong, it is in vain that we have thus armed to defend them; the multitude are a ſwiniſh herd no more; they have learned to walk erect; they have diſcovered that they have intellect; they have diſcovered that they have rights, and the ſtarvation to which we have reduced them, diſpoſes them to demand thoſe rights; we muſt, therefore, ſet them together by the ears among themſelves, as quickly as we can,—induce them to hate each other, and cut each other's throats—or, at leaſt, to blaſt each other's characters, and diſguſt each other with the thankleſs purſuits they are engaged in, or elſe farewel to all thoſe golden viſions of hereditary places and immortal penſions with which we have delighted our imaginations and filled our coffers.

"Strong in a juſt cauſe, vindicated by the zeal of honeſt advocates, and rendered triumphant by the intrepidity of upright juries, theſe champions for the rights of man will prevail, ſay they, againſt the ſacred immunities of places, penſions and emoluments, if we do not find ſome other means for their deſtruction. Ye *Taylors*, ye *Lynams*, ye *Grove's*s, and ye *Goſlings*,* bring us no more your reports of what

* This laſt mentioned wretch was in the room when this was delivered.

this

this patriot does, or that patriot means to do; even your forgeries and falſehoods, (though we know you are as ready to ſwear to falſehoods as to truths,) even theſe will no longer avail: ye muſt adopt another plan; ye muſt ſcatter the poiſonous ſeeds of ſuſpicion in every breaſt, and ſow diviſion between patriot and patriot; and if any little perſonal difference happens to ariſe between them, or any miſapprehenſion or ſuſpicion, you muſt inflame it into the rancour of party hatred and factious animoſity; and then, perhaps, we may have an opportunity of enjoying our golden ſituations a little longer, and the ſyſtem of corruption may laſt our day,—which is long enough for us, you know: for by courts and courtiers there is one maxim, at leaſt, of one philoſopher, which is always revered and held ſacred—*When we are gone, let the world be conſumed with fire: it is no matter to us; all our concerns are ſettled!!!*

"Let us then deſtroy the characters of the men whoſe lives we cannot deſtroy: let us calumniate thoſe whom we cannot move; and if we can neither find juries corrupt enough to do whatever we bid them, nor aſſaſſins who are bold enough, or cunning enough, to wreak our revenge in ſecret, at leaſt we will ſtab that which is dearer than life to the generous mind, —we will endeavour to ſend the honeſt and upright advocate of Truth and Liberty abroad into the world, under the ſemblance of a monſter, as bloated with vice and corruption as we are ourſelves."

Citizens, for ſuch deſigns it is but too eaſy to find engines. There are, and there always will be, men whoſe zeal and enthuſiaſm is greater than their judgment; and theſe may be for a while deluded. There are, and there always will be, other men whoſe minds are full of envy, malignity, and perſonal animoſity; and to theſe a hint is ſufficient. And there are, and always will be, others who, without having either done or ſuffered any thing for the cauſe of liberty, aſpire to the reputation of being the only good patriots, by denouncing every perſon who has done or ſuffered any thing, and holding up to hatred and deriſion every one who happens to have that ſhare of public confidence and affection, which they know they have not the ability, or virtue, or courage to procure by their own exertions. Such individuals will always be ready to ſeize upon the ſlighteſt pretences for ſowing diviſions and creating factions: not becauſe they themſelves really ſuſpect, or at leaſt not ſo much as they pretend, the men againſt whom they direct their fury; not, on the other hand, that they

they really wiſh to prevent the cauſe of Liberty from triumphing;—not that they are corrupt enough to mean to play the game of the Miniſter, but merely becauſe they wiſh for that popularity which they do not like the trouble of procuring by honeſt and proper means. To theſe men "trifles "light as air are confirmations ſtrong as proofs of holy writ;" and there is no accident of the convivial hour, there is no individual circumſtance in the hiſtory of any man's life, ſo inſignificant that they will not ſeize upon to weave the web of calumny, to blaſt his reputation and deſtroy his exertions, whenever it happens to ſuit with their malignant caprice, or be conformable to the views of their narrow ambition.

But though ſuch diſpoſitions exiſt in ſome few boſoms, and though the paſſions of thoſe are frequently communicated, by a ſort of contagion, to the moſt excellent of human minds, the real friend of Liberty and man will not be driven from the courſe of exertion, by all the calumnies and jealouſies of Faction. Others may be factious, but the true friend of Liberty will rather be the victim of Faction himſelf, than lend his aſſiſtance to diſſeminate thoſe ſeeds of diviſion which he knows muſt be injurious to the cauſe of Truth. For it is not perſonal popularity that is ſought by the real friend of Liberty: no, it is public good; and he deceives himſelf ſtrangely indeed, who can imagine that he ever was ſeriouſly attached to the cauſe of public happineſs and virtue, who can ſuffer any degree of injuſtice or perſecution to drive him from a ſteady perſeverance in thoſe principles, without the eſtabliſhment of which the happineſs of mankind never can be advanced, nor the calamities of the human race removed.

There are other dangers, however, which reſult from this factious ſpirit—this diſpoſition to ſuſpicion and jealouſy, againſt which it is proper to warn the friends of Liberty. The man who feels himſelf goaded with unmerited reproach is in danger of loſing his temper, and being ſtimulated to raſhneſs, which may be pleaſing to thoſe to whom otherwiſe he would be too wiſe to render himſelf ſubſervient. He may be urged, perhaps, in his zeal to prove how unjuſtly he has been reproached, to acts of imprudence, which may be friendly to the views of thoſe ſpies and tools of Oppreſſion, with whom guarded caution, mixed with activity and zeal for the public cauſe, conſtitute the higheſt crime: becauſe it renders the aſſiduous champion of human rights, who unites thoſe qualities, ſuperior to their little artifices, and places him out of the reach of their baſe miſrepreſentations.

It

It is therefore againſt imprudencies of this kind, that I would particularly warn thoſe who may be calumniated, or who may have the misfortune to be thwarted in the proſecution of thoſe purſuits of liberty and juſtice, in which they are engaged. Theſe are dangers of which thoſe who firſt ſtimulate to diſſeminate the principles of ſuſpicion are well aware: and there is no doubt, but this is one of the objects for which calumny is frequently employed: becauſe it is frequently ſeen that warm and generous minds fall into this ſnare, and loſe the guard of prudence that they may get rid of thoſe ſuſpicions, which, inſtead of being thus thrown off their guard by them, they ought to treat with contempt, or to repel with the firmneſs and dignity of conſcious innocence.

But there are dangers of a more alarming kind proceeding from this diſpoſition to envy and ſuſpicion: and I am very much miſtaken, indeed, if (not forgetting the artifices and intrigues of the allied courts and cabinets of Europe) theſe are not among the the principal cauſes of thoſe exceſſes and cruelties, which have brought a ſtain upon ſome part of the revolution in France. Yes, I am convinced, that moſt of the crying acts of injuſtice that have ſullied the French revolution, are to be traced to this ſuſpicious and factious diſpoſition which I have thus endeavoured to repreſent in proper colours, that you may abhor and avoid it: and I cannot perſuade myſelf but that, if this principle of ſuſpicion had been early eradicated, that we ſhould never have heard of the wanton exceſſes of Robeſpierre and his party, whoſe principles I muſt for ever revere, though I abhor their practices, ſo oppoſite to every thing which thoſe principles, well digeſted and deeply felt, are calculated to produce.

Had mankind, in that part of the world, experienced the advantage of a regular and gradual introduction to the principles of truth, liberty and humanity, which we, in ſome degree enjoy; had the ſcorpion malignity of ſuſpicion, generated by the baſe and treacherous corruption of the court, been early exterminated from the Gallic mind, it is impoſſible that a principle the moſt benignant, the moſt glorious that ever warmed the human breaſt, ſhould have been ſo diſgraced as, for one period, we behold it in that country.

I dwell

I dwell not upon these excesses with a view to shock you from the principles of liberty. Europe is becoming rapidly convinced that it was not the principles of liberty that produced the mischief, but that the evil flowed from passions and dispositions the most inimical to that sacred cause. The principles of liberty are the principles of benevolence: for I don't understand what liberty means, if its object is not to promote the happiness of mankind, and diffuse through all ranks an equal proportion of rights, felicity, and protection. But let us observe the progress of suspicion: let us observe the history of the rise and fall of the respective factions. If two sets of men differed but a hair's breadth in principle, the high-flown enthusiasts immediately denounced the moderates as royalists, and advocates for federalism; while the moderates, if such extravagant suspicions can be called moderation, reverted the denunciation, by calling out on every side, that those violent enthusiasts were in the pay of the courts in alliance against the liberties of France; and that they only wanted, by the excesses, to disgrace that cause in which they pretended to be so warm.

If we examine impartially, we shall soon find that neither the one nor the other of these denunciations had any basis The *Brissotines* were not advocates either for Royalty or Federalism: they were not persons who attempted either to restore or modify the fallen despotism of France: they were pure, they were zealous, they were generous republicans; and, if a doubt could have existed before, their conduct in the hour of death proved them to be such, in defiance of the calumnies that were heaped upon them. Nor can common sense, for one moment, believe that the energetic exertions of the *Jacobins*, those vigorous efforts of courage and intellect, with which they roused the nation to an enthusiasm unparalleled in the history of man, and drove the combined powers like chaff before the whirlwind, were meant to support the cause of the allied despots of the continent, by depriving them of their dominions, and reducing them to the most degraded state of terror and humiliation.

Let us then fairly and impartially admit, that men may differ from each other in opinion, without having corrupt and rotten hearts. Let us admit that even the most furious aristocrat may perhaps be deceived and deluded; and that he wants nothing but a little serious argument and investigation, to convince him of the error of the principles he has adopted:

that even he, perhaps, has a heart warm and glowing for the happineſs of his fellow beings, though he is unfortunately ignorant of the means by which the happineſs of thoſe fellow beings can be promoted. Still more, let us believe that it is poſſible for a man, or ſet of men, to differ from us with reſpect to ſome particular meaſures, without immediately concluding that he or they muſt of neceſſity be hoſtile to the liberties and rights of man, and wiſh to trample under foot thoſe ſacred privileges of which every man, by the very circumſtance of his manhood, is entitled; and which it is impoſſible for any ſet of men whatever to deprive him of the *right of enjoying*, however they may take from him the *preſent poſſeſſion*.

But there is another reaſon why we ought to be careful of theſe diſpoſitions to ſplit into factions and diviſions. What ſignifies, to you or me, what may be the difference in the particular parts of the ſyſtem which you or I may have adopted; if there are grievances, miſchiefs, and oppreſſions which we are all of us convinced ought to be remedied, let us ſeek, by united, peaceable and juſtifiable methods, for the amelioration of ſociety in thoſe reſpects, and leave the adjuſtment of more minute differences to the time when they become more important. Let us not ſplit into fancied parties. Let us not give each other nicknames. Let us not diſtinguiſh this man as a *this-ite*, or the other as a *that-ite*: Let us remember, that not factions, but the great body of mankind, ought to be the object of our attention; and that their's is the cauſe that we ought conſtantly to labour to promote. But of this we looſe ſight immediately that we put thoſe contemptible *ites* at the end of names; as if we were the adjuncts of ſome particular man, whom we have been weak enough to make our leader: not remembering that principles ought to be our only leaders; and that men are nothing any longer than they promote thoſe principles which are favourable to the happineſs of mankind.

Unfortunately, from loſing ſight of this great truth, the revolutioniſts of France have alſo loſt ſight, to a certain degree, of the grandeſt of thoſe principles they have been ſo long ſtruggling to eſtabliſh.

I ſhall not enter at large, upon this occaſion, into the inveſtigation of the plan of government now before them. This will be more proper to be treated upon, when I come (as in a few evenings I ſhall come) to conſider the indefeaſible right of annual Parliaments and univerſal ſuffrage. But let

let it be remembered, that the true advocates of this univerſal ſuffrage, the true champions of the real and juſt equality of man, the true champions for the abolition of the odious diſtinction between *citizens and low people* (ſo odiouſly reſtored by this laſt plan of the conſtitution in France) brought themſelves into diſgrace, by the cruelties engendered by faction and ſuſpicion; and brought, by theſe means, ſome degree of odium upon the principles they ſupported: and thus France, after a ſtruggle of ſo many years, ſeems in danger of loſing, by its factions and ſuſpicions, the glorious principle of univerſal equality.—I don't mean equality of property. No man was ever wicked enough to put that into the heads of mankind, till *Reeves* and his aſſociators made their appearance among us. He and his colleagues were the incendiaries who broached that doctrine; and if it ſhould unfortunately (which I hope and truſt it never will) ſink into the hearts of the common people; they are the guilty wretches who, at the bar of this country, ought to anſwer for all the maſſacres and miſchiefs which ſo abſurd an idea has a tendency to produce.

It is not then this ruffian principle of equality, it is the real, the juſt principle of equality, which ſays that all men—as Paine has beautifully expreſſed it, in that glorious and immortal work lately ſent by him into the world—all men by the right of their manhood poſſeſs, and to which "their perſons are their title deeds." This is the ſort of equality—an equality of rights, for which I ſtand up as the advocate: the equality which ſays that the man, who produces every thing by his labour, ſhall be as well protected as he who enjoys every thing by the advantages of his ingenuity, or the accidents and circumſtances under which he is placed. This is the principle of equality that I defend. This is the principle of equality, which I could almoſt drop from the bottom of my heart a tear of blood to behold, that the people of France are upon the eve of relinquiſhing. And relinquiſh it, according to this compromiſing conſtitution they will—at leaſt in theory, though the framers of the plan have gloſſed it over with expedients, in the hope of rendering it palateable.

If, therefore, fellow citizens, you are really advocates for the rights and happineſs of mankind—if you really believe that *fundamental truths* ought always to be adhered to; that *expedients* ſhould be left to ſhuffling knaves, and *firſt principles* be the land marks to direct the virtuous advocates for the

happineſs of the human race—if you really wiſh to promote the cauſe of liberty—if you wiſh that the crops, produced by your luxuriant ſoil, ſhould no longer be ſent to feed *Heſſians*, *Auſtrians*, *Croats*, *Bohemians*, and *Hanoverians*—if you wiſh that *emigrant locuſts* ſhould no longer devour the fertility of this country—if you wiſh that the conſequence of your induſtry ſhould be plenty, that the conſequence of plenty ſhould be univerſal and equally diffuſed happineſs—if you wiſh that thoſe calamities under which we groan ſhould be removed; that famine ſhould be driven from our doors; that inordinate taxation ſhould no longer be heaped upon our ſhoulders, to ſupport in idle luxury and ſplendor thoſe tools of corruption, placemen and penſioners—if you really wiſh to promote your own happineſs, and that of your fellow beings, diſmiſs from your minds the ſordid principle of unfounded ſuſpicion; avoid, by all means, ſplitting yourſelves into factions and diviſions; let Candour, the beſt anchor of Freedom, keep you to your moorings; and when you do ſail forward in queſt of public happineſs, let Humanity and Juſtice be the pilots that direct your courſe, and Unanimity and Benevolent Feeling be be the mariner and the gale that direct and waft you to your port.

If, Citizens, you will thus adhere to the great compaſs of principle and reaſon—though I pretend not to be God Almighty's nephew—though I cannot pretend to point out the oak under which I have lain while the dove of inſpiration whiſpered in my ear, yet I will venture to predict, *the day is not diſtant when the condition of Britons muſt be improved.* Knowledge is widely diffuſing itſelf among mankind; the principle of Liberty has had a moſt rapid ſpread indeed, during the laſt ſix or eight months; mankind begin to feel, in different parts of the country, as they ought; and I have been aſtoniſhed to obſerve how numerous the advocates of Liberty are, even amongſt thoſe ranks and conditions of life in which we have been generally uſed to expect nothing but a ſervile compliance with the corruptions of ariſtocracy, and the uſurpations of miniſterial tyranny. Shall we then relinquiſh this great purſuit from perſonal motives? Shall we render ourſelves unworthy of the liberty we ſeek, and thus loſe the liberty we wiſh to obtain? or ſhall we, uniting heart and hand, preſs boldly forward, by juſt, ſpirited, and peaceful exertions, towards the accompliſhment of our object—towards the attainment of that liberty to which I truſt all from their hearts

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are attached? And if there are any who now hear me, or who may hereafter hear the doctrines that I have this night delivered, who feel (which, under the reſtraints of principle, it is juſtifiable to feel) an emulation and ambition to obtain the applauſes and affections of their fellow-citizens, let them take from me one ſhort and ſimple leſſon.—" It is in vain that we make diſputes about intereſt and duty. If we wiſh to live among perſons of enlightened intellect, we ſhall find that intereſt and duty are one; that he who labours to promote the general happineſs, brings to his own heart a ſatisfaction greater than any ſelfiſh exertions ever could produce; and that he who, inſtead of looking for popularity, looks to the promotion of public happineſs, intelligence and virtue, will earn eventually a more durable reputation, than envy, cabal, and jealouſy, ever were capable of obtaining. Let us not forget that the reputation obtained by intrigue, the popularity purchaſed by denunciation, ſuſpicion, faction, jealouſy, and envy, is ſhort-lived indeed, while that which is obtained by principle and magnanimity will laſt for ever.—The fame of *Marat* flouriſhed but for a day, becauſe built upon faction, violence, and injuſtice; but the glory of *Thomas Paine* (who has built his reputation upon principles and integrity, and an unfeigned zeal for human happineſs) ſtands upon a rock that never can be ſhaken. So long as the tongue of man can articulate the names of thoſe heroes who have benefitted mankind, ſo long, in defiance of perſecution, will the name of *Thomas Paine* reſound throughot the world: for though I may not, nor perhaps any other of his admirers, agree with all that he has ſaid in all his works, or the preciſe manner in which he has ſometimes treated his ſubject, yet, whoever obſerves the tenor of his writings and conduct, muſt admit 'this was a man of principle, who laboured for the 'promotion of the happineſs of mankind; who kept himſelf 'aloof and independent of all faction:—this therefore is the 'man who has built himſelf a ſolid and laſting reputation, 'becauſe he ſought for that reputation alone by promoting 'the happineſs and welfare of man."

*** *The following Paſſages conſtituted a Digreſſion in the Second Lecture, but they belong more properly to this, and are therefore here introduced.*

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I have ſpoken thus far in general terms; becauſe it is the general cauſe, not the particular feeling that principally actuates my mind. Conſidering however, the induſtry with which, during my abſence from town, calumny has been employed againſt me, it may not be improper to make a few brief obſervations upon that ſubject: at the ſame time I ſhall carefully avoid all perſonalities and retaliation; as my object is to prevent, not to increaſe diſſention; and as it is a part of my ſyſtem to have no perſonal quarrels, and to cheriſh no animoſities againſt any man who is labouring in the public cauſe whatever may have been his conduct to me in particular.

It is not difficult to perceive the ſource of theſe miſrepreſentations. There are undoubtedly many well-meaning, but indiſcrete men, who are angry with me for withdrawing myſelf from the popular ſociety; a meaſure, the motives of which I fully explained in the concluding lecture of the laſt ſeaſon*; and which the doctrines enforced from this place ſufficiently prove to have ſprung from no departure from thoſe principles of liberty to which I have ſo long been pledged. It was alſo eaſy to foreſee, that a ſituation like this could not be occupied without exciting the envy and jealouſy of thoſe who have not magnanimity enough to look with complacency upon the good fortune of their fellow-citizens.

Alas—thoſe who envy me the applauſes and emoluments of this ſituation, know but little of the cares that ſurround it. They perceive and *exaggerate*† the external advantages; but they know nothing of the internal difficulties—the conſtant labour, the perpetual anxiety, and the ſacrifice of health, ſtrength, and ſocial enjoyment, which it demands. If thoſe things had been conſidered but ever ſo ſlightly, ſurely it would not have been difficult to find a reaſon, why a little retire-

* See Tribune, Number XV.

† The emoluments of the lecture room (if in this age of perſecution a ſituation in which a man ſtands up to ſpeak the truth could be regarded as permanent) when the incumbrances produced by three years perſecution and diſappointment are cleared away, would, it is true, be more than ſufficient to ſatisfy my ſimple wants. But thoſe who count over the gain by an exaggerated calculation of numbers, little ſuſpect that my expences, independent of houſe-keeping, &c. are little ſhort of 400l. a year.

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ment, in a distant part of the country should have appeared desirable to me, without inventing the paltry story of my having accepted a pension from that *caitiff-minister* who formerly attempted to pension me with a gibbet and an axe.

Citizens, I was not now to learn that calumny is the inevitable attendant of all active exertions; and that he who wishes to benefit mankind in any way whatever, must be content to receive, as part of his wages, not only the hatred and malevolence of those whose corruptions he would undermine, but of others also whose factious intolerance cannot bear the slightest difference of opinion from the infallible standard of their own judgmeet.

It is not unknown to me—it ought not to be unknown to any man that whenever we engage in any efforts to ameliorate the condition of mankind, if we escape the halters of aristocracy, we ought not to be sure that we shall escape the guillotine of faction.

I am not therefore astonished, that my back was scarcely turned,—that I had scarcely reached the scene of my retirement before suspicion lifted its serpent-head, and I was branded as a pensioned apostate who had abandoned his post, and abjured his principles. These suspicions, however did not prevent calumnies of a very different nature. And it is curious to compare the contradictory fabrications which were invented by the violent supporters of opposite principles who seem in a manner to have formed a coalition in this respect—or rather to have conspired together to place the poor bark of my reputation between the *Scylla of ministerial and the Charibdis of democratic persecution.* To the scurrilous forgeries of "*the Sun*" and "*True Briton,*", I shall make no reply—It is enough to say, that it was in "*the Sun*" and "*True Briton,*" that they were published. And to confess the truth, I have always had so much vanity as to be gratified rather than hurt at the abuse which ministerial hirelings lavish upon me. A report which has passed through a different channel ought not however to be passed over in silence, because it will exhibit in just colours the fidelity for which those gentlemen called *spies* are so famous, and shew you in the clearest point of view how much justice there is in the government of any counrty, upon the foundation of their testimony, putting their fellow-citizens in jeopardy of their lives.

It will perhaps be entertaining to hear, that while I was

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in the Iſle of Wight, ſtruggling with the attack upon my conſtitution, information was actually lodged by ſome of thoſe virtuous ſpies—that I was at the head of the riots, pulling down a crimping-houſe in St. George's Fields. If you aſk me the authority for this anecdote—I tell you that I have ariſtocratic authority. Mr. *Ford*, of the Secretary of State's office, has himſelf declared, that they received ſuch information, while I, forſooth, not knowing what my ſpectre was doing in St. George's Fields, was 70 or 80 miles from the ſpot, and ſcarcely capable of ſtirring acroſs my room.—A pleaſant counterpart this for the report that I had retired from public duty upon a penſion of three hundred a year. Citizens, I will not make any boaſts either of my abhorrence of violence, on the one hand, or my abhorrence of corruption on the other. The man whoſe actions do not ſpeak in his favor, deſerves no credit for his profeſſions: but this much I will venture to aſſure you, that whether I ever head a band of incendiaries, or become the humble ſervant of Mr. Pitt, I will never be bought for three hundred a year, nor *hanged for pulling down a crimping-houſe.*

But let us diſmiſs this grating ſubject: let us diſmiſs (if the warmth of youthful exultation will permit) let us diſmiſs all egotiſm—all perſonal feelings. Let me exhort you alſo, every one who may hear me, not, by miſrepreſentations and ill-founded ſuſpicions, to ſtir up perſonal factions and diviſions, ſo hoſtile to the cauſe of real freedom. Let us unite heart and hand, and ſtruggle together in the great cauſe of human happineſs; and, if we muſt have rivalry among us, let this be the ſtruggle of our rivalſhip—not who ſhall moſt *defame*, but who ſhall moſt *merit*—not who ſhall *engroſs*, but who ſhall *deſerve*, the largeſt portion of the approbation and affection of mankind.

THE TRIBUNE. Nº. XXIV.

Report on the STATE OF POPULAR OPINION, *and the Cauſes of the* rapid Diffuſion *of* DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES. *Part the Firſt, Delivered at the Lecture Room, Beaufort Buildings, Sept. 4, 1795.*

IT has been well obſerved, citizens, by one of our moſt celebrated poets, that "the proper ſtudy of mankind is man." We may certainly then affirm, that in the preſent ſtate of ſociety, when political diſquiſition and novel truths are diffuſing themſelves in every country, one of the moſt important ſtudies is the ſtate of popular opinion relative to thoſe queſtions with which the univerſe is agitated. Nothing can be more deſirable than to know the ſtate of popular opinion under ſuch circumſtances; becauſe it is by knowing and duly weighing the ſtate of this opinion that violence is to be prevented on the one hand, and perſecution on the other.

Ignorance will always diſpoſe mankind to exertions unfriendly to human happineſs: as he who is groping about in the dark is more likely to do miſchief to himſelf and others, than he who, walking upright in the broad eye of day, has the opportunity of perceiving and underſtanding the objects by which he is ſurrounded. It is therefore that, at this early part of the ſeaſon, I come before you to give you my report of the ſtate of popular opinion in this country.

I cannot pretend that this is a ſubject which has been merely ſuggeſted upon the ſpur of the moment. It was in my meditation before I adjourned the laſt ſeſſion; and it was a part of my intention to employ a conſiderable proportion of the ſummer receſs in obſerving and collecting the neceſſary facts in different parts of the country. If ſtrength had enabled me to fulfill my deſigns, I ſhould have been able to come before you on the preſent evening with a much more ample and ſatisfactory account than I can at preſent pretend to preſent. It was my intention to have divided my time principally between ſtudious retirement, and democratic pedeſtrian rambles, from which

the opinions of different claſſes of ſociety may be collected.—In theſe rambles I meant to mix with all claſſes who came in my way—for they are groſsly ignorant who ſuppoſe, that a knowledge of the world is to be obtained by aſſociating with *one claſs of ſociety:* and therefore it is, that the moſt ignorant of all the ignorant animals that crawl upon the face of the earth are generally found among our high and mighty potentates and rulers.

I will grant that we are never thoroughly acquainted with ſociety, without ſome opportunity of viewing and beholding the conduct of the higheſt orders. But as the higheſt orders are few, and the intermediate and lower orders are numerous, I will venture to aſſert that *it is better of the two to be ſhut out from the ſociety of the higheſt than to be excluded from all intercourſe with the great maſs of the people.*

There is another reaſon why I would recommend to my fellow-citizens, democratic excurſions of this kind. The man who travels in a poſt-chaiſe from place to place, generally collects no other information than is derived from the mile-ſtones he paſſes upon the road, or the charges made by his poſtillion and the landlord of his inn. He who, on the contrary, leiſurely roves from place to place, and mixes with every company that falls in his way, has an opportunity of diſcovering the real ſprings of human action, and learning the real value of the human character. For it is not beneath the embroidered veſt, it is not beneath the plumed hat of ariſtocracy, that virtue is to be excluſively ſought. Many a time will this glorious principle, united with animating intelligence, be found under the tattered garb of the peaſant, and in the boſom of the laborious and deſpiſed orders of ſociety. To mix with all ranks of men is the duty of every individual who has the opportunity ſo to do: for it is thus that we practically learn that great leſſon, ſo theoretically enforced, that *all mankind are of one family*, and that *mutual obligation connects every individual of the univerſe together in one chain of ſympathy and reciprocal duty.*

" And thus, as withal we excurſively rove,
" The mind will expand, and the heart will improve;
" Till embracing mankind in one girdle of love,
" In nature's kind boſom we daily improve;
" And, no ſelfiſh diſtinctions to fetter the ſoul,
" As brothers to all learn to feel for the whole."

PERIPATETIC.

With

With theſe views it was that I marked out for myſelf when I quitted London, a very extenſive rout: a rout, however, which I was unable to purſue: the plain fact being, that my exertions in this place had undermined my health too much to permit me to execute any conſiderable proportion of the project I had formed; and that I had ſcarcely ſet my foot upon the delightful ſhore of the Iſle of Wight when a cruel diſeaſe ſeized upon that vital organ which in this Tribune is particularly acted upon, and threatened me almoſt with diſſolution.

Such information as I had an opportunity of collecting I did not however neglect; and the fruits both of my perſonal obſervations and of my enquiries I ſhall lay before you; acknowledging, at the ſame time, that my ſphere of actual obſervation was confined to the Iſland, the neighbourhood of Portſmouth, Goſport, the adjacent roads, and the city of Chicheſter. The laſt of theſe places I cannot mention without repeating by way of prefatory digreſſion, a little anecdote which may tend to illuſtrate the ſapience and dignity of the loyal magiſtracy of that corporation; and to ſhew you with what horror and alarm thoſe moſt dreadful of all dreadful monſters, *the hunters of political truth*, are regarded by the official guardians of the conſtitution in church and ſtate as now adminiſtered.

Upon ſtrong and repeated invitation, I was induced to make a viſit of a few days to Chicheſter; where I was informed a few avowed and unintimidated citizens, to whom I was hitherto known only by name, eagerly deſired the opportunity of my acquaintance. To ſuch an invitation it was not eaſy to return a denial; and I embraced the opportunity of repairing to a ſpot famous for its dependence on the famous Duke of Richmond; and for the unequivocal diſplay of his right noble apoſtacy. I knew pretty well what ſort of character was to be expected among the leading members of a rotten borough, with the palace of a great man in its neighbourhood; and I was not ignorant of the mean arts of official cabal; yet what was my ſurpriſe to hear, that the worſhipful Mayor of this worſhipful corporation, on the report of my intended viſit, had called his macers around him and given them expreſs orders to keep a ſharp look-out to the preſervation of peace and order in the loyal city during the time I ſhould remain there; and that if the leaſt diſturbance aroſe in any corner of the city, no matter where I was at the time,

that horrible Jacobin ſhould immediately be taken into cuſtody:—to be committed, I ſuppoſe, to the houſe of correction; there undoubtedly to experience the humane treatment of jailors and the comforts of cloſe confinement, that Mr. *Pitt* and Mr. *Dundas* might again have an opportunity of convincing you, by their logic, that ſuch confinement is no puniſhment.—But this, Citizens, was not enough. A very ſtately and pompous member of that corporation, who calls himſelf an Eſquire, and boaſts that he has prevented four petitions from coming to Parliament, from different boroughs and corporations in which he has a moſt conſtitutional authority and domination—this pompous gentleman we caught in the very fact of walking backwards and forwards under the window of the friend's houſe where I was, and clapping his ear againſt the crevices of the window, to overhear our converſation. We did not let the poor gentleman go without his errand: for all ancient maxims ought to have ſacred veneration paid to them; and it would have been a great pity the old proverb ſhould have been marred, that *Liſteners never hear any good of themſelves.*

Thus much, Citizens, for undoubted facts. If the poſitive teſtimony of one individual is to be believed (which, in a circumſtance ſo atrocious and extraordinary, I grant you hardly ought to be the caſe) there is a tale behind of much blacker import. Such teſtimony as, if it were on the other ſide of the queſtion, would ſend a dozen or two of *ſuſpected* perſons to the Tower, and ſuſpend for a third time the *Habeas Corpus* act, that this Eſquire-like eves-dropping member of the corporation of Chicheſter, with two other perſons, formed a plan, and for two or three hours paraded the ſtreets of Chicheſter, for the purpoſe of executing that plan—either to ſeize me by force, (that is to ſay, kidnap me,) or, if I made the ſmalleſt reſiſtance, to put an immediate period to my life. I do not give you this as a ſtory I mean to affirm as true. It is a maxim with me, that *miracles* are not to be believed on the ſame ſlight teſtimony as ordinary circumſtances; and I yet lack the faith to believe that, however great their profligacy, the ariſtocrats of the country have courage enough to put into execution ſchemes ſo daringly infamous. Threats of violence, however, no more than threats of perſecution, ought to terrify the advocate of truth from the duty of promoting human happineſs; and feeling, as I truſt I ſhall be credited when I ſay I have long felt, not only a principle, but a paſſion for the diffuſion of political information, and the improvement

improvement of the condition of my fellow beings, I have not relaxed in my endeavours to qualify myself for the situation in which I ſtand. I have kept the Tribune conſtantly in my eye; and, amidſt all the wild ſcenery of the Iſle of Wight, the buſtle of a great ſea-port, and the ſocial circles of Chicheſter, have endeavoured to collect, as far as opportunities would admit, ſuch facts as would enable me to form ſome judgment of the ſtate of popular opinion, at this time.

Citizens, in order to accompliſh this, I have endeavoured to make obſervation go hand-in-hand with my ſtudies; and, while one part of my time was devoted to the examination of the arguments in favour of deſpotiſm, from *Hobbes*'s "*Leviathan*" to *Peacock*'s Defence of Parliamentary Corruption, another part was taken up in obſerving the condition and developing the opinions of my fellow citizens.

For this laſt, the ſphere in which I moved was in ſome degree favourable: for it is the *promiſcuouſneſs* of ſociety, and not the *multitude*, that enables us to form in any degree a juſt idea of the ſtate of popular ſentiments; and the places in which I have been are particularly favourable to obſervation in this reſpect, inaſmuch as they are the reſorts of perſons promiſcuouſly collected from various parts of the country. The iſland, particularly, is viſited for its natural curioſities by people from all parts; and it is among perſons thus promiſcuouſly thrown together, that I have endeavoured to form, as far as I was able, ſome judgment relative to the ſtate of opinion. As to the perſons to whom I was introduced, and the individuals who ſought my ſociety, on account of the principles for which I have been perſecuted, I put them entirely out of the queſtion; becauſe theſe were evidently drawn together by a ſort of *magnetiſm of principle*, which occaſions us to be pleaſed with thoſe who correſpond with us in opinion. We ſhould always, therefore, when we wiſh to eſtimate popular opinion, put theſe out of the caſe; and this is another reaſon why great and mighty potentates frequently betray ſo much of that ignorance to which I have before alluded. Uſed to flattery, and unable to exiſt without it; herding only with the particular ſet of beings about them, who cajole them with falſe pictures of ſociety; and, taking their own little narrow circle for the univerſe, they think that the *great* majority of the people muſt be preciſely of opinion with the *little* majority of the virtuous aſſemblies they frequent.

But

But citizens, it is in inns and public houſes, in groupes promiſcuouſly met upon the road, in paſſage-boats and ferry-boats, in, and upon ſtage-coaches, and the like—in farm-houſes and in all places of promiſcuous reſort, where I was myſelf unknown, and where I knew not an individual with whom I converſed, that I collected my opinion on the ſtate of popular feeling. Taking the perſons thus promiſcuouſly met as the fair though caſual repreſentative of the public mind, I cannot but ſay, that he muſt be blind indeed, who does not perceive the ſtrong current of popular opinion daily increaſing againſt the men at preſent in power, and the mad ſyſtem they have been ſo long endeavouring to thruſt down the people's throats.

Perſons of all deſcriptions, and almoſt all ſituations of life, may be met with in excurſions of this kind; and I have been pleaſed to find, that the opinion which I had drawn from my own obſervation was conſiderably confirmed by that of others, who had opportunities of extending their obſervations through a larger ſphere. Perhaps it may appear an extravagant calculation, yet I believe it is by no means an exaggeration, to declare that, according to my obſervations, and, according to the correſpondent facts I have collected from the obſervations of others, taking all the claſſes of ſociety together, where you meet them in ſituations where they can openly ſpeak their minds, becauſe they ſuppoſe they are not known, a majority of nearly three to one will be found unfavourable to thoſe mad and extravagant meaſures to which the preſent miniſters ſeem attached. Even the moſt firm and furious ariſtocrats find themſelves obliged to make conſiderable conceſſions; and there are ſome ſubjects upon which the whole country appears, in a conſiderable degree unanimous: even thoſe who profeſs ariſtocratic principles, agreeing, upon certain points, with thoſe who profeſs principles favourable to democracy.

Among theſe we may reckon ſeveral of conſiderable importance.

We ſhall find, I believe, that the opinions of mankind are almoſt uniformly againſt the late proſecutions; and that even thoſe perſons who ſeem diſpoſed to wiſh that all the ſtate priſoners had been hung up at once, yet agree, that the proſecution was marked with a ſanguinary ſpirit, never equalled in the annals of this country; and readily admit, that *Pitt* and his adminiſtration have ſhewn a diſpoſition for blood, though

not

not ſo ſucceſsful, yet but little leſs keen and ferocious than that which diſtinguiſhed *Robeſpierre* and his faction in *Paris*. I declare to you, that I have heard perſons who think no words ſufficiently ſtrong to reprobate the meaſures of the French, who think that, even as it is at preſent adminiſtered, there is ſomething divine in the conſtitution of *Britain*, yet declare that they are very well convinced, that a cloſer parallel could not be be found than between the preſent miniſter and the fallen dictator of France. This is no exaggeration, and I believe you will find it no difficult matter to draw the ſame confeſſions from the lips of thoſe who were not many months ago the moſt zealous advocates of adminiſtration, and all the meaſures they purſued.

There are other topics upon which I have found the public ſentiment ſtill more unanimous; and you will remember, that the places in which I have been are not very likely to have given me an opinion over favourable of the degree of ſentiment that prevailed in behalf of liberty.

The iſland whoſe charms and luxuriant production ought to render it the paradiſe of human felicity, is the centre of feudal deſpotiſm: a few lordly tyrants exerciſe a tyranny ſo cruel, that it is aſtoniſhing, at the cloſe of the 18th century, beings are to to be found ſo abject as to endure it. I will not mention names, becauſe I do not wiſh to ſtir up ungentle feelings againſt individuals. It is to reform the ſyſtem that I aim, and not to excite rancour againſt thoſe who have the misfortune to be educated in that ſyſtem. The prejudices and errors of ſociety are what I wiſh to ſee eradicated: I do not wiſh to ſee men the victims of their prejudices and errors: Portſmouth and Goſport are notoriouſly the centre of patronage and government influence; and *Chicheſter* is known to be almoſt immediately under the potent thumb of the great, great, great, man whoſe conſequence is increaſed by a tax of a ſhilling per chaldron on all the coals conſumed in this metropolis. Yet, citizens, even in *Portſmouth*, which lives by war, the voice of the people is unanimouſly againſt this war; at leaſt in as far as it is carried on with a view to the ſubjugation of France, of invaſion or continental exploit.—It is true, our ſucceſſes at ſea have inflated the vanity of *John Bull*, and many are much delighted with the idea of the Britiſh navy riding triumphant over the ocean, but in the boats that paſſed from *Portſmouth* to *Goſport*, I have heard the paſſengers,—ſailors—and even officers of the navy declare, that they ſhould like thoſe conqueſts better if they found them productive

productive of any reduction in the price of bread: and I have heard even naval officers exclaim, with a degree of boldneſs little expected, againſt the political meaſures of the times.—I have heard them forward to declare, and I have never met with any perſon who was hardy enough to deny their conviction, that the calamities and miſeries under which the great maſs of the people groan are to be attributed entirely to the mal-adminiſtration of men in power, and to the fooliſh and ridiculous project of attempting the reduction of the French republic. With one of theſe citizen-officers in particular, I was conſiderably entertained: he was an old veteran, who ſeemed to have ſeen ſome ſervice; and among the reſt, I learned from his converſation, that he had been in the Weſt Indies. In his zeal for the happineſs of oppreſſed and inſulted man, it is true, he was a little vindictive, but his heart upon the whole was rather brave than hardened. The mention however of the conduct of our *heaven-born miniſter*, threw him into a fit of true ſailor-like indignation, and in the execrations which he poured upon the author of the preſent diſtreſſes of the poor, among other puniſhments which his active imagination deviſed, he had the almoſt Jacobinical wickedneſs to ſay he ſhould like to feed him four times a day upon Indian corn, and let him have no drink.

The fact is, citizens, there is not a department in the ſtate in which the ray of light and truth is not making its appearance. The army ſeems as if it were not much diſpoſed to be longer made the meer tool and engine of miniſterial oppreſſion: *the honeſt ſoldier* begins to feel that he *has not put off the rights and duties of humanity, by putting on a ſcarlet coat.* He begins to perceive, that all the people of the country have one common intereſt; although the arts of miniſterial corruption may attempt to make diviſions between one claſs of citizens and another. In fact, the brave ſoldier begins to perceive that, there is but one claſs of beings to whom the affections of the heart ought to be directed, and that they are known, not by the coat that is put on, nor the trappings with which it is decorated; not by a black cloak, or a red jacket—but that they are known only by the upright form and ſtamp of humanity, which conſtitutes the only title to affection and eſteem.

Citizens, this war was once, perhaps, ſo near to being popular, that what with the terror impreſſed on the public mind by a powerful faction, ſupported by powerful armies, it might

might almoſt have appeared to have a majority of the people in its favour. But whatever appearances were then produced, it can now no longer be pretended, that the voice of the people is with the war. Even ariſtocrats, who bear all the ſtrongeſt prejudices of the ancient ſyſtem about them, you will hear ſpeaking with the utmoſt inveteracy againſt the continuation of this mad cruſade; and the worthleſs wretches in whoſe behalf we pretend to carry it on. Nay, in this reſpect, the ariſtocrats are more inveterate againſt the unfortunate emigrants than the democrats themſelves. The philoſophical among the latter deſcription of men, may drop the tear of ſympathy over the errors, the deluſions, and even the vices of theſe victims; but the ariſtocrat has no commiſeration left for them; and I have heard, from the lips of the moſt profeſſed advocates for exiſting corruptions, the moſt bitter execrations, and the moſt fervent prayers, for the deſtruction of them all. Particularly one afternoon I had the pleaſure of riding a little way with one of thoſe ariſtocrats upon the roof of a coach: for you know we democrats muſt not be aſhamed of our principles, and there is no diſgrace whatever in finding it more convenient to travel upon the outſide of a coach than the inſide: nor have I yet attained ſuch refinement as to be much attached to "being ſhut up in a glaſs caſe, with a var-"niſhed cover over my head, like the preparation of a "ſtuffed monſter in the cabinet of a natural hiſtorian." —While enjoying, then, the proſpects from the roof of a ſtage-coach, I was joined by an ariſtocrat, who happened to be one of the naval officers who had been upon the famous expedition to *Quiberon*. We had not then received the news of the cataſtrophe of that expedition: But my companion, after giving me to underſtand, that he was preſent at the landing of the emigrants, made no ſcruple of declaring his opinion, that every man of them would be cut to pieces: and he concluded with a moſt ſailor-like oath, that "by God he hoped they would be ſo, for he knew not what thoſe damned lubbers of emigrants did in this country, or why we ſhould have ſpent our blood and treaſure in endeavouring to reſtore ſuch a pack of damned cowardly raſcals to their eſtates."— Yet ſo far was this man, at the ſame time, from being at all infected with the principles of *Jacobiniſm*, as they are called, that in boaſting what great exploits we ſhould per-

form at ſea, he wiſhed that the Americans would join with the French, that we might "*blow all the republican raſcals to hell at once!*"

Such is the opinion, even of ariſtocrats, relative to theſe gentlemen emigrants, in behalf of whom we are waſting our beſt blood, and reducing our people to famine; in behalf of whom we can find ſtores and proviſions to ſend upon their frantic expeditions, while the induſtrious poor are ſtarving, and calling in vain to their profligate drivers for bread.

Citizens, every fact that I have obſerved, every opportunity that I have had of looking abroad, whether I have drank my baſon of milk in the ſtone kitchen of the farmer, in thoſe parts of the iſland where you cannot meet (as in many parts you cannot) with the common receptacles for travellers—whether I have repaired to an ariſtocratic looking inn, or ſet down in little hedge alehouſes;—or whether I have croſſed in the common ferry-boats that paſſed between *Goſport* and *Portſmouth*, or in the paſſage-boats that ply to and from *Ride*; whether I have travelled about the country on foot, have journeyed in a caravan, or taken my ſeat on the roof of a coach, I have ſeen, and glory to have ſeen, ſo wide a diffuſion of the principles of truth and liberty, that I am ſure, if the advocates for reform would but perſevere, and preſerve their temperance—if they would avoid factions on one hand, and being made the tools, on the other, of villainous ſpies, who wiſh to plunge them into violence, that the miniſter may have a pretence for eſtabliſhing a military deſpotiſm over us, there is no machination of miniſterial tyranny—no device of inquiſitorial perſecution (though *Reeves* could recover his reputation from that ſink of infamy into which it is ſunk, and reſtore thoſe aſſociations, ſo buſily employed ſome time ago in diſturbing the peace of ſociety) thereis no power upon earth able to ſnatch from us the glorious proſpect of ſocial amelioration, to reſult from the reſtoration of our natural and conſtitutional rights—our annual parliaments, and our univerſal ſuffrage, which corruption has ſecretly and gradually ſtolen away.

War and corruption have long reigned hand in hand, and the ſpawn of miniſterial dependency produced from their fatal union, has preyed upon the vitals, the morals

and

and felicity of mankind; while a few bloated vipers and ſerpents, glutted with the miſeries and deſtruction of mankind, have ſwelled to a power and grandeur equalled only by the noble plunderers and empurpled ruffians that diſgraced the declining ſtate of the *Roman empire*.—— Yet theſe depredators are the people who talk of *property*; and fearful leaſt juſtice ſhould call them to account,—leaſt honeſty and virtue ſhould be reſtored to their ancient rights, talk of protection againſt *levellers*—the frantic creations of their own diſordered brains.

As well might the banditti of *Caſtile*, while their caverns are filled with the ſpoil of murdered travellers, when they hear that the officers of juſtice are on their way, barricade themſelves in their ſubterranean dwellings, and ſay,—"Fellow-plunderers, we muſt defend our property!"

This ſyſtem, however, draws towards its diſſolution.—The ſymptoms of its dotage are already apparent; and the extravagant and preternatural exertions of the laſt three years have brought it apparently to the very brink of this awful cataſtrophe. Yet in the paroxyſm of madneſs and infatuation, the miniſter perſeveres in demanding efforts ſtill more diſproportionate to its ſtrength, and more fatal to its exiſtence. Experience preaches in vain; diſaſter after diſaſter in vain cries out "forbear!"—Mad Phaeton is in his car, and the world muſt be conſumed before he will quit the reigns.

Regard the hiſtory of the laſt years of his adminiſtration.—Mark the whole progreſs of this ruinous cruſade—behold how ridicule has has dodged the heels of all his waſteful meaſures!—how diſappointment, diſgrace, miſery and abſurdity, have ſtared him in the face at every turning! and then wonder at the frenzy of the man who can ſtill adhere to his viſionary projects.

When this war was firſt talked about—when it was firit thought neceſſary to delude the people of Britain into a ſtruggle for the extermination of Gallic liberty, you were told, forſooth, that *France* was preſently to be conquered, and that the war could not poſſibly laſt beyond one campaign. Nay, according to Mr. *Burke*, it was only a phantom we had to combat—a mere imagination, which, as ſoon as the torch of Britiſh indignation was uplifted, would vaniſh away: for having put his ſpectacles upon his noſe, and

examined the map of Europe, he declared that it was *impoſſible to diſcover the ſpot which once was France.* The king was gone—the nobility were gone, the prieſts were gone—the age of chivalry was gone, and *nothing but an immenſe blank—a vacuum, preſented itſelf to his eyes.* You therefore had nothing to do, but to fill up this vacuum with an army of Britiſh ſoldiers and German allies, and the buſineſs, *hocus pocus*, was done at once And yet, Citizens, not only one campaign is over, two, three campaigns are gone by; and if Mr. *Burke*, and the whole college of Jeſuits to help him, were to put on two pair of ſpectacles a-piece (ſave only the little barren ſpot of *Corſica*) they could not find the ſpeck of earth on which allied Europe can raiſe a trophy in commemoration of thoſe great exertions by which they were to over run every ſpot of land where this nullity (as they affected to call it, and wiſhed to make it) Liberty dared to raiſe her head, and the light of Human reaſon dared to ſhine.

Another of the waſteful projects of this great and ſapient Miniſter, was the conqueſt of the *Weſt-India* iſlands. But look a little ſeriouſly upon the ſtate of affairs in that quarter, and anſwer me, whether the probability exiſts that one foot of Weſt-India territory ſhall long remain in the hands of any European power? You would not aboliſh the ſlave-trade; you would not wash the guilt of blood from your polluted hands; you liſtened to the great Scotch logician, Mr. *Dundas*, and he convinced you that you ought to finiſh the century in the ſame iniquitous way in which it was begun; that it would be a ſhame to have a little patch of humanity at the fag end of that hundred years, the whole of which had hitherto been one continued ſcene of cruelty—of *Weſt-India* ſlavery and *Eaſt-India* murders. You liſtened to this flimſy ſophiſtry; you would not aboliſh the ſlave-trade; but if you had had a few grains of underſtanding in this particular—(I ſpeak this to the legiſlature of the country—not to you, my fellow citizens—for I ſuſpect that the majority of the perſons who now hear me, did not wiſh to continue that iniquitous traffic! —if thoſe before whom the queſtion was agitated, had exerciſed but nine grains of common ſenſe and reflection, they would have perceived that the period was faſt approaching, when it would be impoſſible, from the very nature of things, to continue the ſlave-trade much longer. They might have perceived that the only conſequence of attempting to prolong it beyond its natural date, would be that effect, which, in a great degree, has taken place; the total and precipitate emancipation

of

of the blacks, before they were fit to receive that emancipation; and, conſequently, ſcenes of cruelty and horror which humanity cannot but ſicken at, even while ſhe exults in the proſpect unfolding for future generations, when blacks no more than whites ſhall longer groan under the yoke of ſlavery, and lift up their fettered hands in vain, to remind their fellow beings that "they are men and brethren."

But monopoliſts—cannibals who fatten on human gore—wiſhed to continue the blood-ſtained traffic of Africa; and ſee the conſequence. You would not aboliſh the ſlave-trade, but the wicked jacobinical convention of *France* would. They would go a ſtep further. I ſhall not commend that ſtep. If any choice had been left, it is not to be applauded. It is only to be excuſed from the dire neceſſities of the times, and the circumſtances under which they laboured. They went further. The whole herd of Negroes (rendered ſavage and ferocious by the cruel bondage in which they had ſo long been kept) were emancipated at once. And it is an abſurdity too groſs for human intellect, to ſuppoſe that it is now poſſible to prevent that decree from operating in all the territories in the Weſt-Indies; though not ſo immediately, perhaps, as it will operate in their own.

This then is the proſpect of the cataſtrophe of *Pitt*'s famous project for conquering the *Weſt-India* iſlands; and monopolizing all the profits, and all the duties, and all the patronage upon collecting thoſe duties, of the whole ſugar trade of the univerſe.

Another famous project was the re-union of Dunkirk to this country.—But I will not dwell upon this ſubject. I have too high a veneration for the unfortunate hero who failed in that attempt. I will draw a veil over it, and not excite your tender ſympathy by a relation of his diſaſters.

Next came the boaſtful projects of Col. *Mack*; who, with a ſabre two yards long, and a pair of whiſkers as long as his ſabre, threatened to eat up all the *Jacobins* at a breakfaſt, and reſtore *Louis* XVII. to the throne of *France*. But it all went off in a whiff of tobacco, which ſeared his magnanimous whiſkers, and obliged him to turn his back, to hide his confuſion; not having, like ſome perſons who ſhall be nameleſs, loſt entirely the faculty of bluſhing. No—he felt the blood, not of *courage*, but of *confuſion*, riſing in his cheek, and therefore prudently choſe to conceal his *ſhame*, from thoſe to whom he could not ſhow his *valour!*

Well,

Well, Citizens, projects were not yet at an end: and when all other things failed, then, forſooth, *Louis* XVIII. with a manifeſto, full of the ſublime and beautiful, in his hand, and pardons and denunciations, ſo haſhed up together that one could ſcarcely perceive which was which, in his mouth, was to be reſtored to the crown of *France*. To effect this, the orderly *faith-keeping* government of this country perſuaded the plunderers of *La Vendee* to break the faith they had ſworn to the republic; well knowing that faith is never to be kept but with a *regular* government, and even with that no longer than is perfectly conſiſtent with the *royal* principle of ſelf-intereſt. They perſuaded, therefore, the poor wretches of *La Vendee* to break their faith, and throw that province once more into anarchy and ſlaughter: and they ſent an army of emigrants to aſſiſt theſe heroes of nocturnal plunder—for the Chouans are nothing elſe.—Proper allies for emigrants, you will ſay, perhaps, and for the patrons of thoſe emigrants!—And theſe men were to make a conqueſt of *France*.—What, French emigrants to conquer *France?* Did not 70,000 of them run away in one day from France—70,000 men run away at once? Truſt ſuch men with arms—and expect great exploits from them! If there had been one grain of valour, if there had been one grain of honeſty, in their boſoms, they would either have ſubmitted at once, as virtuous men ought to ſubmit, to the majority of voices in their country, or elſe they would have ſhown that they had the courage, at leaſt, though not the humanity of men, and would have ſtood where they were, to have defended their principles; and not, like cowards and poltroons, with tears in their eyes, and calumnies, fictions and ſupplications in their mouths, have fled to other countries for ſupport, in a ſtruggle which they had not courage to ſupport themſelves.

Well, the expedition to *Quiberon* failed, as all rational men foreſaw it would fail; and yet, upon the very morning when I departed from that part of the country, I ſaw another immenſe fleet ſailing to repeat, as generally believed, the ſame abſurd attempt, perhaps upon another, perhaps upon the ſame part of the coaſt of *France*. They ſailed—that is, the emigrants who were on board this fleet ſailed—amidſt the execrations of all parties; and the only regret which aroſe at the foreſeen cataſtrophe, was to think how many of our own brave counteymen might perhaps be implicated in the event; and how much injury would be ſuſtained by the people of this

this country, from the loſs of thoſe ſtores provided for this cruſade, and its ridiculous counterpart, the Weſt-India expedition.

How ſhall we account for this hopeleſs perſeverance? Shall we attribute the conduct of adminiſtration merely to the phrenzy which generally accompanies deſpair? or ſhall we ſay, that perſons in very elevated ſituations are lifted above the influence of experience; that their ſublime faculties, dwelling always upon their own *golden* ſpeculations, diſdain to look down upon the events and realities which inſtruct a ſwiniſh multitude—or to regard the leſſons derived from the common occurrences of life; and that therefore they perſevere, in deſpite of the open conviction of former errors?—or ſhall we, as I believe we muſt, attribute it to another cauſe, more intereſting, and more ſublime?

Yes, citizens, all this ought to be attributed to confidence in ſupernatural aſſiſtance; which though ſlow, the ſtars perhaps have told them, is ſure. In this opinion I am confirmed, by having lately obſerved, that our virtuous and excellent miniſter has got a freſh champion, and advocate, of moſt extraordinary and reverential character; and this not an advocate who ſtops, like Mr. *Burke*, to ſee the ſtar fall upon the earth, before ſhe admires it: no, but one who ſoars to the ſtars herſelf, and reads in them the book of fate by the optic glaſſes of ariſtocratical inſpiration. In ſhort, it is no other than the great Mrs. *Williams*; the far-famed fortune-teller, who boaſts in her dedication, of her acquaintance with our moſt gracious and excellent queen, and avows herſelf the champion of trembling royalty. This heaven-inſtructed Mrs. *Williams*—and ſurely a *heaven-born miniſter* ought to have a *heaven-inſtructed comforter*.—This heaven-inſtructed Mrs. *Williams* tells our ſapient miniſter, in her new book of fate (price 2s. 6d.—and pray do buy it, it muſt be a precious morſel!) that notwithſtanding the ravings of Brothers, (whom by her ſkill in *judicial aſtrology*, ſhe is enabled to pronounce a Jacobinical impoſtor) monarchy will be reſtored in *France*, that the Stadtholder will be reſtored in *Holland*, and that the preſent houſe of *Brunſwick* (which God grant!) will reign to all eternity upon the throne of Britain!!!!!

Citizens,

Citizens, I cannot blame the miniſters of this country for ſeeking ſupernatural aſſiſtance; for they ſeem to have brought themſelves into a condition from which no natural aſſiſtance can extricate them. They have not only made thoſe blunders I have already mentioned, but, worſe than all, they have ſought to overthrow republicaniſm in *France*, and they have almoſt occaſioned it to triumph throughout *Europe*; they have ſought to increaſe the uſurped power and ſovereignty of rotten boroughmongers, and they have ſapped their power to the very foundation, till the edifice of their high-built fame and glory ſeems tottering into ruins: and we may ſhortly expect, that like Shakeſpeare's "baſeleſs fabric of a viſion it will leave not a wreck behind."

The plain and ſimple fact is, and melancholy as it is to relate, grieved at heart as I muſt feel at being compelled to announce it to you, yet it is impoſſible to conceal the dreadful truth, that the principles of democracy are ſpreading very wide in this country.

But I will not detain you, at this late hour, upon ſo melancholy a ſubject. I will therefore adjourn till Wedneſday evening, when I will trace the cauſes of its diſſemination, and point out the means by which it may be (not checked indeed, for I am afraid that is impoſſible) but turned to the general advantage of the community, and rendered it conducive to the renovation, and the ameliorating of our *happy* and *glorious conſtitution!!!*

RIGHTS

RIGHTS OF BRITONS.

*** In the former volume of this work, I took the liberty of inſerting extracts from ſome of the Reviews, and making references to others, relative to ſuch recent publications as had paſſed the critical ordeal. I take the liberty of repeating this practice on the preſent occaſion, by inſerting, verbatim, the only Review which has yet appeared of my *Vindication of the Rights of Britons.*—This is, I believe, peculiarly uſtifiable in this inſtance; as the work in queſtion is intimately connected with the Lectures publiſhed in the Tribune: it having been repeated in the Lecture-Room, on the ſecond, third, and fourth nights of the laſt ſeaſon; and containing, in a collected point of view, an abſtract of thoſe principles which have actuated my political conduct; and which will be found diffuſed, in a more ample manner, through the whole of my diſcourſes.

CRITICAL REVIEW, July 1795, p. 338.

The Natural and Conſtitutional Rights of Britons to Annual Parliaments, Univerſal Suffrage, and the Freedom of Popular Aſſociation: being a Vindication of the Motives and Political Conduct of John Thelwall, and of the London Correſponding Society, in general. Intended to have been delivered at the Bar of the Old Bailey, in Confutation of the late Charges of High Treaſon. 8vo. 2s. Symonds. 1795.

"Mr. Thelwall informs us, in a ſhort advertiſement, that this pamphlet contains only the leaſt important part of that ſtatement for which he ſtands pledged to the public; and which is ſoon to appear, under the title of a 'Narrative of the Proceedings of Government.' He ſends this vindication into the world ſeparately, that the inveſtigation of the principles upon which he has acted may prepare the public to appreciate, with greater juſtice, the practices by which his perſecutors aimed at his deſtruction. He aſſerts that he would have delivered this addreſs on his trial, if he had not been perſuaded to reſign his whole cauſe into the hands of Meſſrs. Erſkine and Gibbs, whoſe profeſſional knowledge rendered them more adequate to the taſk of combating the hoſt of crown lawyers that were embattled againſt him.

"This advice, we are of opinion, was judiciouſly taken. However we may approve of many parts of this vindication as a political diſcourſe, it could not have been conſidered by the jury as an anſwer to the ſpeeches of the crown lawyers; nor, however careleſs the author might have been of his life, would he have acted the part of a wiſe man, had he ſacrificed it for the mere pleaſure of delivering a ſevere cenſure on the meaſures of adminiſtration. At the ſame time we do not diſpute the right he had to publiſh it in its preſent form, and think it upon the whole highly creditable to his talents as a political writer. There are many paſſages which might be ſelected for their eloquence, many for a nice and diſcriminating acuteneſs, and many for the honeſt warmth of innocence, and the fervor of unbluſhing zeal. His defence of univerſal ſuffrage we are not prepared to agree with; and there are other openings left for critical refutation: but, making allowance for a certain peculiarity of opinion, and for the circumſtances of the writer, it is but juſtice to ſay that the performance is maſterly, both in matter and manner.

"The following paſſage will ſerve as a ſpecimen of the general ſtyle and conduct of this defence, and contains a curious fact:—

'The man who is at liberty, can ſelect his ſociety; and 'if he truſts himſelf alone with a ſtranger of ambiguous 'character, or ſubjects himſelf to the miſrepreſentations 'of a perjured dependent, he muſt abide the conſequences. 'But diſcretion is as impotent as innocence, to guard 'againſt the *inventive* malice of the being, who, armed with 'the warrant of a privy council, drags the victim from his 'home, and excluding him from all choice of ſociety, and 'all guardianſhip of diſintereſted witneſſes, can afterwards 'come forward in a court of juſtice, and deprive him of 'his life, by ſwearing to circumſtances which, though 'they never occurred, are incapable of contradiction.

'But it is vain to cavil about particulars. If looſe con-'verſations are once admitted as evidences of treaſon, 'pretences can never be wanting to deſtroy the moſt inno-'cent and virtuous of mankind!

'Yet, to the diſgrace of an Engliſh court of juſtice—to 'the ſcandal of the Britiſh character—to the indelible re-'proach of that conſtitution, which thoſe who have violated 'every principle of it, continue ſo extravagantly to ap-

'plaud

'plaud—at the close of the eighteenth century, in a prose-
'cution for treason, is the feeble mass of accumulative and
'constructive charges bolstered by evidence of this con-
'temptible nature.

'For this purpose every tavern and coffee-house has been
'haunted, into which (rare visitant as I have been to places
'of that description) I may occasionally have put my head.
'My hours of conviviality have been attended by spies and
'sycophants, my doors beset with eve-droppers, my private
'chambers haunted by the familiar spirits of an infernal
'inquisition, and my confidential friends stretched on the
'rack of interrogatory, in order to extort from them the
'conversation which, in the unsuspecting hours of social
'hilarity, may have been uttered at my own table.

'But it will not be believed—posterity will not credit
'the monstrous tale—that, unsatisfied with former arts—
'despairing of success, yet eager in the scent of blood,
'four or five days before my trial, the agents of this wicked
'prosecution should have sent, in the name of the privy
'council, for a person known to be one of my most fami-
'liar friends—known to be one of the witnesses subpœna'd
'on my behalf—known, also, to have been entrusted con-
'fidentially by my family, and my solicitor in the manage-
'ment of my defence; and after clapping a Testament to
'his lips, (let Mr. White or Mr. Ford contradict me, if
'this is false!) should interrogate him on the mode of my
'intended defence, on the evidence I had to contradict
'particular charges, and the subjects of those private con-
'versations which, in the unsuspecting confidence of our
'souls, we had frequently indulged together.' P. 78.

☞ The reader will perceive, that, with respect to *Universal Suffrage*, the Reviewers are not ready to agree with me, or admit the force of my arguments. As they have not, however, stated their objections, it is not possible for me to answer them. I shall satisfy myself, therefore, with announcing that this subject, in the course of a week or two, will be amply discussed in the Lecture-Room; and that, if I am not very much mistaken, (which in such a case is by no means improbable) every objection to a measure so consonant to justice, and equality of rights, will be answered and overthrown,—as far at least as those objections have come to my knowledge.

THE HORRORS OF ROYAL AMBITION.

From the BATTLE *of* BARNET, *a Poem in the Peripatetic.*

[*Continued from p.* 168.)

O, frantic England! prodigal of blood!
What ſtygian fury urg'd this impious mood—
To rend thy entrails thus?—while foreign foes
With grim delight behold thy ſavage woes—
See, with proud joy, thy own victorious ſword
Turn'd on thy breaſt, with wilful fury gor'd,
While the gaunt ſpectre of thy *Martial Fame*
Fleets, like a Ghoſt, a wandering empty name,
Self-ſlain, and doom'd thro' all the deſert land
To howl her guilt, and curſe her frantic hand!
So, hapleſs Britain! in a later age,
I ſee thy *Sword* againſt they *rights* engage;
See thee, in mad deluſion, blindly pour
Devoted armies on a foreign ſhore
To aid the cauſe of tyranny, and buy
Th' inglorious fetters freemen ſhould deſtroy:
Blind to the ſchemes by artful ſtateſmen plann'd!
And Britiſh Freedom falls on Gallia's ſtrand:
Self-ſlain ſhe falls, in wild, miſguided zeal,
And German deſpots whet the fatal ſteel;
Then ſhout triumphant; to their legions call,
And hail the approaching hour of Britain's fall.
Nor yet content might Titled Rage appear,
Nor ſtop at Murder in her mad career:
In bolder Crimes their feudal Pride prevail'd:
Fair Faith is ſlain; and Heaven itſelf aſſail'd.
See: on the ſword yet ſtain'd with Yorkiſh blood,
The changing hero, in indignant mood,
Allegiance ſwears to York's expiring cauſe,
And back to life the ſinking faction draws:
While he who late, the *white roſe* on his creſt,
Gor'd ſtruggling Lancaſter's aſpiring breaſt,
Now ſtops the blood; recals the fleeting breath;
And vows to York's proud race diſmay and death.
Now, front to front, in threatening wrath, behold
Thoſe painted targets and thoſe helms of gold,
Frewhile whoſe proud devices, ſide by ſide,
Throng'd the ſame field, in amity allied;
And he who late o'er ſome half-vanquiſh'd friend
Ruſh'd, the firm ſhield's protection to extend,

Now

Now barb'd with vengeance wings the thirſty dart,
Or bathes his falchion in the ſuppliant's heart.
No link of friendſhip binds; no kindred tie;
And oaths in vain their feeble aid ſupply:
Nor pious awe, nor bond of Faith controls;
(Limbs cas'd in ſteel, and adamantine ſouls!)
Again they change, their broken leagues reſtore,
And ſeal new perjuries in new ſtreams of gore.
Their ready ſlaves with blind obedience turn:
Change as they change, and as they dictate burn:
In either cauſe with equal zeal deſtroy;
Pleas'd if their Lords the ſavage Fame enjoy.
Chief of theſe noble locuſts in its rage
Sent by offended Heaven to ſcourge the age,
Stern Warwick, proud in brutal might, appears
Hemm'd round with ſlaughters, devaſtations, fears.
His raging breath, omnipotent in ill!
Is drawn to ſtifle, and but flows to kill:
Tyrants to tyrants in ſucceſſion riſe:—
His voice creates them; and his frown deſtroys.
Behold him now the cauſe of Edward own,
And lift the gaudy pageant to the throne;
That ſo the boy (whoſe vices ſpeak his birth)
Sprung from the *Imperial Spoilers of the Earth!*
With England's treaſures, and with England's dames
May ſoothe his follies, and indulge his flames.—
O'erwearied Toils, extorted produce waſte
In ſcenes of riot, and laſcivious taſte;
Tear from the aged Matron's widow'd ſide
(Widow'd perhaps to prop his regal pride!)
The vigin treaſure of her daughter's charms,
To lie polluted in her daughter's arms;—
Or doom the huſband, in the bloom of youth,
To mourn the pangs of unrewarded truth;
With guiltleſs ſhame his branded forehead hide,
And mourn in widow'd ſheets a living bride:
While the proud tyrant, whom his wealth ſuſtains,
Feaſts on his wealth, and riots in his pains.
But ſcenes like theſe the *milder* woes diſplay
That mark the ravages of kingly ſway:
And panting Britain, mark'd with ſlaught'ring toils,
Amid theſe humbler crimes indulgent ſmiles:—
Pleas'd the ſhort ray of tranſient Peace to gain,
O'erlooks the *princely* vices in her train,
And deems it bliſs nought heavier to ſupport
Than the *lewd paſtimes* of a waſteful court.

But,

But, lo! in tears another Helen came;
With tears of oil to feed the dying flame,
Renew the waſting fires of Civil Rage,
And give to Slaughter's reign another age.
The Britiſh Paris feaſts his wanton ſoul
(For what are Kings, if Reaſon muſt control!)
Fearleſs of injured Nevil's dangerous ire,
Hail's the fair ſovereign of an hour's deſire;
And Civil Diſcord lights the Nuptial Fire.
Stern Warwick heard, as from the Gallic ſhore
His proſperous ſail the plighted princeſs bore.
He heard; and like a thunderbolt he came,
That ſtrikes ſome reverend Abbey's Gothic frame,
And while convulſive Nature rocks around
Lays it a ſmoking ruin on the ground.
(Its ſtately fanes, its pageant trophies torn,
And all that diſtant ages vainly mourn,)
While proſtrate crowds that worſhip in the quire,
Cruſh'd in the hideous ſhock, with unheard groans expire.
Behold, again, from Power's polluted ſeat,
The vain, ungrateful libertine retreat;
While monkiſh Henry, with his haughty queen,
(Wanton her heart, and inſolent her mein!)
This call'd from exile, that the dungeon's gloom,
Again the fickle diadem aſſume,
And his ſtern power with grateful tranſport hail,
Who turn'd ſo oft their ſanguine faction pale.
Poor groaning land, whom equal ills betray
Beneath an idiot's or a tyrant's ſway!
Thy people ſlaves; a proud, but powerleſs throne,
Propp'd by the nobles' force, and not its own;
Thoſe nobles, loſt, as all vain nobles are
To every liberal patiotic care!
Honour the excluſive name with which they grace
The pompous vices of their ſelfiſh race!
Scorning the crowd upon whoſe necks they ride!
Dead to each ſenſe, but luſt and giddy pride!
For them in war our wealth—our blood we ſhow'r,—
And what War ſpares, their Luxuries devour!
Their gaudy crimes how long ſhall Britain brook,
Ere her bold offſpring ſnap the galling Yoke?
Their ſwords again the factious Barons draw—
"Swords and ſtrong arms their conſcience and their law!"
For faithleſs Edward ſtill a hoſt attends,
Whoſe intereſts, or whoſe paſſions are his friends:

Here,

Here, to this ſpot—whoſe guilty turf appears
Manur'd with blood, and wet with orphans' tears;
And ſtill where hovering ghoſts with boding ſtrain,
To Fancy's ear of cruel Fate complain,
That urg'd them, for Ambition's ruthleſs ſtrife,
To ſlight each fond regard of ſocial life;
To leave unpropp'd a parent's hoary age,
In ſome proud chieftain's quarrel to engage;
For midnight marches and the din of arms,
To fly the virgin's yet untaſted charms;
Or leave the widow o'er her babe to mourn,
And weep for joys that never muſt return!
While they (what furies human boſoms tear!)
Bled for the chains the riſing race ſhould wear.—
—Here, to the ſpot, the riſing ſquadrons throng,
While kindred hate drives each fierce hoſt along,
And banner'd omens, gleaming through the air,
The direful iſſue of the day declare.
Two raging dog-ſtars, ſcattering plagues and death,
Flame in their van, and ſcorch the blaſted heath;
This, darting far, its corruſcations ſends,
And all around deſtroys—or foes, or friends
With like contagion ſtrikes the random fire,
Till all extinct the fatal flame expire:
While that, ſtill raging with inſatiate blaze,
Pours, in collected wrath, its blaſting rays;
Shakes o'er the foe its red deſtroying hair,
That ſheds infectious horror and deſpair;
Exhauſtleſs flames with peſtilential ire,
And floods the enſanguin'd field with one wide-waſting fire.

Such the dire omens through the lowering ſky,
That o'er the hoſtile legions wave on high:
For thus, while Death ſhrieks out the hideous yell,
And hovering furies chaunt the direful ſpell,
Grim o'er their looms the fatal ſiſters weave,
And fiends of Havock the dire webs receive;
Then haſte, and, ſhrieking, with portentous glare,
O'er their ſtern ranks the threat'ning ſignals bear;
Sound the loud blaſt; the general carnage hail:
And wait the incenſe of the tainted gale.
Too ſoon, alas! that tainted gale ſhall riſe,
Blot the griev'd air, and blot the weeping ſkies!
For, lo! they meet: wounds anſwering wounds they deal,
Strain the tough Yew, and drench the murd'rous ſteel:
Thro' kindred bands the mace—the falchion hew,
Loud ſtrokes reſound, and dying groans purſue;

Stones,

Stones, ſpears, and darts in ſlaughtering tempeſts rain;
And helms and hauberks ſheath the ranks in vain,—
Heralds in vain the trophied targe ſupply,
Cleft ſhields and broken lances uſeleſs lie,
While roll promiſcuous o'er the trampled plain,
Steeds, arms, and men—the dying and the ſlain.
The martial Spirit of Britannia's Iſles—
(Whoſe brandiſh'd lightnings aid the *patriot* toils—
Whoſe ſteady hand, when Truth contends with Might,
Uplifts the balance of eternal right;
And, when in awful panoply array'd,
Indignant Freedom claims her guardian aid,
Deſcends in terrors to the warrior maid:
With Heaven's own thunders aids the ſacred cauſe,
And proud ambition's tyrant boſom awes!)—
Shock'd with a ſcene where *Violence* and *Pride*
And *Perjur'd Guilt* alone for empire vied,
In darker folds her ſea-green mantle ſpread,
And veil'd the beaming glories of her head;
Call'd from the impious ſcene her bands away,
And left to warring fiends the doubtful day:
(As though to ſcourge the factious race inclin'd,
And leave a dread memorial to mankind!)
The warrior cherubim her call obey;
Their flaming falchions ſheathe, their wings diſplay,
And ſeek the realms of empyrean day:
Yet, lingering, oft, with backward glance, deplore
The long-protected haunts of Albion's rocky ſhore.
With clouded radiance, and abated fires,
Weſtward meanwhile the ſickening ſun retires;
Involves his brow to ſhun the ſlaughtering ſight,
And Night and Chaos threat the cloſing fight—
When now blind Chance, not Juſtice lifts the ſcales;
And Edward's fortune in the ſtrife prevails;
For Warwick, bent with one deciſive blow
To ſtrike deep terror in the yielding foe,
Calls his choice band, who yet inactive lay
To watch the changing fortunes of the day)
With ſudden aid his phalanx to ſuſtain,
Inſpire the drooping, and replace the ſlain;
When, lo! the banners flaming in the rear,
And ſhouts loud echoing in the ſtartled ear,
(Thro' clouds of duſt while doubtful meteors gleam)
To the gall'd ranks a hoſtile ambuſh ſeem:

[*To be continued.*]

THE TRIBUNE. N°. XXV.

Report on the STATE OF POPULAR OPINION, *and the Cauſes of the* rapid Diffuſion *of* DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES. *Part the Second. Including Definitions of* Democracy, Ariſtocracy, *and* Monarchy.---*Original Meaning of the word* KING ---*Conſequences of* MINISTERIAL AMBITION, *&c. Delivered at the Lecture Room, Beaufort Buildings, September 9th, 1795.*

CITIZENS,

THE laſt Lecture that I delivered in this place was the commencement, or rather indeed the continuation of a report of the ſtate of popular opinion. I endeavoured to ſtate, as far as my means would enable me, (and candidly to ſhew you what my means have been), the progreſs of popular opinion, ſince I had the honor of meeting this company; and I concluded with obſerving, and giving you, ſuch reaſons as appeared to me neceſſary to ſhew that there was a conſiderable increaſe of the democratic principle in this country. I propoſed then, on a future evening, to enter into the cauſes of this increaſe, and to endeavour to point out the particular conduct of government to which we are indebted for this increaſe.

But, before I enter into the particular cauſes, it is neceſſary that I ſhould give ſome explanation of my terms; becauſe words of almoſt every deſcription, are conſiderably abuſed in diſputes between contending parties; thoſe, to which I allude, in particular. It frequently happens, that appellations, of the higheſt virtue and excellence, are uſed by the enemies of liberty, as terms of the moſt contemptuous reproach.

When we conſider the uſe of the word Democracy, we find that there are two interpretations to be given to it.—The Ariſtocrats are very fond of fixing an interpretation to it, which the word never did,—nor ever can, bear in this or any other language.

There are, however, two diſtinct ſenſes, in which an Engliſhman may naturally be expected to uſe this word. If we look back to the real meaning of the term, we ſhall find it to be a government by the great body of the people.

Now, a government by the great body of the people, taken in its ſtrict and original ſenſe, does certainly deſcribe a *pure republic*. Nay, more, it deſcribes a republic without any *intermediate* order, ſuch as we now call a repreſentative aſſembly. But this is a ſyſtem whoſe advocates, in the preſent day, if any, are extremely few; for the improvement of political ſcience has enabled us to diſcover very conſiderable defects in all the ancient forms of government: and it has been found that a democracy, purely and ſimply conſidered, can never exiſt, ſave, only, in a ſmall country, conſiſting, perhaps, of a ſingle city and a few miles of territory around it: Nor even in ſuch a ſtate, can this ſpecies of government exiſt long, without occaſional tumult and diſorder. Modern legiſlators, therefore, have invented what is called a repreſentative democracy; which is, in reality, if you adhere to the ſtrict definition of terms, no democracy at all; becauſe, if the repreſentatives are veſted with the complete and full powers of the ſtate, I think I ſhall be able to ſtate to you, that this is the only thing which really, juſtly and properly, can be called an *ariſtocracy*.

Ariſtocracy, in fact, originally meant a government of the *wiſeſt*: and who can have ſo great a right to be deemed the wiſeſt, as thoſe who, for their wiſdom and ſuppoſed integrity, have been ſelected, by the great maſs of mankind, to be their rulers and governors. This repreſentative democracy is the real eſſence of what was formerly, theoretically, called ariſtocracy;—the realization of the viſions of ſublime philoſophers, who, in their attempt to diſcover how an ariſtocratic government ought to be conſtituted, were never able to hit upon this project. They foreſaw, indeed, as every one would, that a country ought to be governed by the wiſeſt; and were, therefore, anxious to eſtabliſh a government of the wiſeſt; *Plato* in particular, conſidered an ariſtocracy—as the beſt government in the world.

But how was this wiſdom to be diſcovered? Why, forſooth, a few philoſophers, among the muſty cobwebs that hung about their cells, were to dictate, by a ſort of divine right, to the reſt of the world, and, like the prieſts of the deluded multitude, were to triumph by a ſort of ſuperſtition, of which they, themſelves, were the authors, and from which they, alone, could be expected to receive any advantage.

Having

Having given these two definitions of democracy, I think I shall be enabled to prove that every Englishman ought, in reality, to be, in a certain sense of the word, *a democrat*. I think I shall prove to you, that, what I shall call *constitutional democracy*, ought to animate every breast; ought to glow in every bosom; ought to dictate to every intellect; and that it is only by cherishing this glorious constitutional democracy—this emanation arising from the *principles*, not from the *corrupt practice*, of our constitution—that we can ever expect to relieve ourselves from the burden of immoderate taxation, and to attain the peaceful and quiet enjoyment of the fruits of our talents and industry.

Let me then, Citizens, put to your consideration this question:

WHAT IS THE CONSTITUTION OF BRITAIN?

If we consider the external forms of our government, we shall find that it consists of a Chief Magistrate and a Senate of two chambers—the one elective, and the other hereditary. If we consider the description of this government which the spirit of our constitution has dictated, we shall find it to consist of *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons in parliament assembled*.

Now, Citizens, to substantiate the assertion I have made, that *every true lover of the British Constitution ought to be at heart a Democrat*. it is only necessary to consider the meaning of the plain, simple word—*Commons*.

I should suppose, Citizens,—notwithstanding the variety of abusive epithets that have been invented to obscure the real meaning of this phrase, (such as *wretches*, *rabble*, *swinish multitude*, and the like)—that it is still impossible for any individual to be so dull, as not to know what the word *Commons* means. There is no man, not even *Mr. Burke*, himself, in the very paroxyism of his frenzy, who can mistake a human being for a *swine*. No man can be so ignorant of the English language, as to suppose that the word *wretch* is a description of a class, or order of beings. There are *wretches* enough, indeed, in this country; and woe to the wickedness of that aristocracy, which has made them so wretched! There are miserable beings, indeed; but it ill becomes those, who have plunged us into this misery—this swinish ignorance, to reproach us with *their* crimes, and to think that their present usurpations are a justification for usurpations still more abominable and atro-

cious, The fact is, that the word, *Commons*, carries its own meaning with it. Every body, when you talk of the *king*, as one of the conſtituent parts of our government, knows very well, that you mean the chief magiſtrate of the country, inveſted with certain powers and authorities, by the conſtitution, for the benefit of the people.—Yes, for the benefit of the people. This is the expreſs condition of his power: and the chief juſtice *Eyre*, himſelf (who did not ſeem very anxious to make acknowledgments to the friends of liberty) was obliged to declare in the outſet of his ſpeech, that it was only for the protection, advantage and happineſs of the people, that the laws of the country had raiſed particular fences around the perſon of the king, and attempted to make him inviolable from the attacks of common incendiaries, or individual violence, which revenge might dictate, or ambition lead to. The *king*, then, is the chief magiſtrate,—the executive power; and he, our conſtitution tells us, is one, and *only one*, branch of the conſtituted authority. By the *Lords* we very well know what is meant; though it would be difficult to find what is the meaning of ſome perſons being made lords, who have got that title. It is, however, very well known that, by Lords we mean a certain number of individuals walking, like other men, upon two legs; but, unlike other men, decorated with ſtars and garters, and ſuch other ornaments, as you might have ſeen repreſented in gingerbread, a few days ago, at Bartholemew Fair. They are called *Peers*, that is, the *companions*, *equals* and *counſellors of the King*; for ſuch is I believe the original meaning of the word, and the conſtitutional ſenſe in which it is to be taken; becauſe every peer of the realm has a right to demand, whenever he chuſes, an audience of the king, and has a right to give him his counſel and advice:—leaving it to his *wiſdom* whether that advice ſhall be followed or not.

Thus, then, having found out that king means the only perſon we call king in the country, and *Lords* the whole of the perſons called Lords in the country, I ſhall conclude, that *Commons* means all thoſe perſons who do not preſume to be conſidered as either kings or lords, or any thing elſe than mere common people.

It is true, there are ſome amphibious animals who are in one ſenſe *Commons*, but who are called *Lords* by courteſy; and Mr. *Windham* and Mr. *Burke*, by their metaphyſics, might prove, perhaps, that there are *uncommon* men who

may

may be called *commons by courteſy*, alſo. But if they poſſeſs the capacity, the ſhape, and other attributes common to mankind, I conclude that they are entitled, at leaſt, to be conſidered as *common men*; and, conſequently, that by "Commons in parliament aſſembled" we mean the democracy of the country, who by their repreſentatives are (ought to be I mean) repreſented in the commons houſe of parliament.

Thus, then, Citizens, the conſtitution of Great Britain may be properly defined a *democracy, admitting*, ſome mixture of ariſtocracy in its legiſlature, and adopting an hereditary Chief Magiſtrate, to be reſponſible for the execution of the laws, and who is called the *King*.

Citizens, Modern theoriſts for modern theoriſts we have had in abundance, who have been very anxious, by general denunciations againſt modern theories, to abuſe themſelves; Mr. *Burke*, Mr. *Windham*, Mr. *Wilde*, and ſome other champions of the fallen cauſe of chivalry, are a little confounded at the old conſtitutional language which lawyers of two or three hundred years ago were accuſtomed to uſe. They do not like to hear of the Britiſh Commonwealth: for commonwealth and republic are they know ſynonymous; and, therefore, they have hunted for new theories and new coined phraſes, and have choſen to uſe a very curious phraſe, *mixed monarchy*.

Now, if theſe gentlemen, inſtead of ſtudying metaphyſics, had choſen to ſtudy their dictionaries a little, they would not have made uſe of ſo nonſenſical a phraſe. Monarchy means a government in which the ſupreme power and authority are veſted in *one perſon*. How that can be, and yet, Lords and Commons have a right to ſhare that power and authority with him, is a paradox that will require all the ſubtlety of theſe metaphyſicians to explain.

The fact then is, that, inſtead of talking of a *mixed monarchy*, we ought to call our government a *limited* or *reſtrained democracy*; the theory and the maxims of our government teaching us, that it is for the ſake of the democracy (that is the great body of the people) that all our laws and inſtitutions are made; and that all conſtituted functionaries are, in reality, as they always muſt be in practice, whenever practice is called for, ſubordinate to the grand object, the welfare of that great *body from whom all power is derived, and for whom all power ought to be exerciſed*.

How,

How, then, came this government to be called a *mixed monarchy?*—or how can a monarchy be *mixed?* Lately, indeed, they ſeem diſpoſed to get rid of the *mixture*, and the chief juſtice *Eyre*, in plain and direct terms, calls the government of this country a *monarchy*. "To pull down and "ſubvert that glorious fabric the Britiſh Monarchy," are his plain and unqualified words. Let me aſk this learned lawyer, *Who made it a monarchy?* Not the anceſtors he talks of. They made it not a monarchy;—a *deſpotic government of one*. They veſted, indeed, in the hands of one man the executive power; but the real ſovereignty, the right of making and altering the laws, they veſted—or, if their language be ſuppoſed an image of their hearts, they meant to veſt, in the great body of the people, by their repreſentatives by them choſen: imagining, that their councils would be rendered the more wiſe, by having a houſe, filled with men well educated and of ſuperior knowledge, which they called a *Houſe of Peers*. But little did they foreſee, that in ſome future period—not at the cloſe of the 18th Century; it will undoubtedly be the 19th before it takes place.—Little did they foreſee that, in ſome future period, boxing and brutality were to be the qualifications of the ermine robe: and that pimps and paraſites were to be decorated with thoſe ornaments, which, if they are to be worn at all, ought to be the badges of honor, virtue and actual ſervice.

But theſe learned men, happening to underſtand more of *languages* than *principles*, and being able by the uſe of theſe languages, to confound together the words *King*, *Rex* and *Monarch*, therefore, endeavoured to make you believe that a *kingdom*, a *government by a Rex*, and a *monarchy* are one and the ſame thing.

But let us enquire the meaning of the word *King*; and we ſhall find it to be of a very different ſignification from the words *rex* and *monarch*; as a learned etymologiſt informs me—for I profeſs myſelf to be but a plain man, and neither etymologiſt nor ſcholar. I want to diſcover the truth; and a truth of ſix minutes old is as much revered by me, as a truth that has the ſtamp of 6000 years. Words and derivations, therefore, have little to do in deciding my principles. I will uſe, however, when I can, the knowledge of others to any good purpoſe. King, then, is an old Saxon word, or rather a contraction of an old Saxon word. It is derived from the word *konning*, which was ſometimes pronounced

pronounced kenning, and ſometimes cunning—and from cunning or kenning—*ken* and *King*.

Thus, then, in reality, *King* means the *cunning man*.

You will pleaſe to remember, however, Citizens, that I do not mean to "call the KING a SOLOMON" again. I have been once tried for High Treaſon for calling the king a Solomon already. Mr. *Groves*, you know, alias Mr. *Powell*, after ſaying that I ſpoke in the moſt contemptuous and reproachful terms of his moſt ſacred Majeſty, when he was aſked by the judge what he meant by contemptuous and reproachful terms, ſaid he had "heard me call the "*King a Solomon!*" You have heard the old proverb, that the burnt child dreads the fire. I am determined, therefore, never to call the King a Solomon again; being very well convinced that it is as high treaſon to call the King a Solomon, as it would be a high abſurdity to call any of his miniſters by that name.

However, Citizens, to be a little more grave, the plain and ſimple fact is, that Kings, according to our *ancient Saxon conſtitution*, and according to the original meaning of the word, were perſons of eminence, *choſen* to fill the office of firſt magiſtrate, on account of their ſuperior wiſdom—real or ſuppoſed. I ſay choſen: for notwithſtanding the boaſts made by the ſupporters of divine right of lineal deſcent from the God *Woden*, or the devil knows what other gods, or godlings I will venture to affirm that, legally ſpeaking, *the crown of this country never was hereditary, till the revolution in* 1688; *and that at this very time it is only hereditary, under certain reſtrictions:* that is to ſay, upon condition of a ſtrict compliance, on the part of the *Houſe of Brunſwick*, with the compact and terms under which the crown was granted.

Citizens, It is very true that our Saxon anceſtors had a notion (ſo ancient, and conſequently, ſo venerable is prejudice!) that wiſdom is confined to particular families; and, therefore, they always choſe their *King* or their *cunning man* from one particular family; but that they did chuſe him, is evident to every one who has read the hiſtory of his country. They did not always take the elder ſon, in preference to the younger. An infant or idiot was never ſuffered to reign upon the throne; and, if they had the misfortune to be miſtaken in their firſt choice, they repaired the evil by ſetting him aſide, and putting up another.

This

This was the practice of our Saxon ancestors; and I defy any historian to contradict the assertion, and bring facts of history to support his contradiction.

What was the practice also, after the invasion by that band of plunderers called Norman conquerors? How did they succeed?

Did the bastard of a woman-servant at an inn succeed to the throne of Great Britain by the divine right of lineal descent? Certainly not: he seized the throne by power; and conscious, even in that barbarous age, that power was not principle, and that possession is but an unquiet state without some semblance, at least, of right he assembled the states of the country, and procured himself to be formally elected: upon certain conditions it is true, with which he did not afterwards conceive that the *faith of regular government* obliged him to comply.

After his death, did his crown descend to his eldest son? No, with the consent of the states of the kingdom he bequeathed his crown to his second son. That second son was succeeded by his third, in violation of what is now foolishly called the *right* of primogeniture. And in fact, if you trace the whole line of kings, from the time of the Norman invasion to the period of the revolution, in 1688, you will find *that there never were more than three persons of the same family, who, from father to son, took the crown in regular descent, and held it during the period of their natural lives.* Some circumstance or other (sometimes real election, sometimes pretended election, and sometimes usurpation and violence, under colour of election) deposed one and set another upon the throne. Nay, to take no notice of Henry VII. who could claim no sort of descent from any family whatever; being a bastard—and of course, according to the *perfection of wisdom*, as revealed in the orthodox code of our law, being no sort of relation either to his father or his mother. Setting him aside, we find Henry VIII. (convinced of this truth which I am now enforcing) occasionally consulting HIS parliament (HE also had a tolerably obsequious parliament!) to get them to settle the descent of the crown on the head of one or other of his children just as his caprice happened to dictate or his passions prompt.

Thus I think my position is proved; and I could enter into a longer detail if it were necessary, which it is not,

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as every individual can ſatisfy himſelf by referring to hiſtory, that *till the revolution of* 1688, *there was no ſuch thing as a legally eſtabliſhed hereditary ſucceſſion to the crown of this country.*

For what then was the revolution in 1688 made?—Every man who pretends to be an admirer of the conſtitution of this country, as then eſtabliſhed, muſt acknowledge that it was made, not for the purpoſe of enſlaving, but of further emancipating the people. Well, then, what is the reaſoning that reſults from this? Our revolutinary anceſtors had found that certain inconveniencies, and very great ones too, reſulted from this ſpecies of elective ſucceſſion. They perceived, and rightly, that a crown, ſuch as it has always been held, is much too great a temptation for ambition, much too important an object to be made ſubject to what is called election; but what, under circumſtances of ſuch ſtrong temptation, muſt conduct to, or found itſelf upon, civil war, rebellion, or inteſtine commotion. But citizens, though they eſtabliſhed an hereditary throne, under certain reſtrictions, which it is not now neceſſary for me to dwell upon, they certainly did not mean to abandon the *Democracy*. This part of the conſtitution they propoſed to leave entire.

I believe, if they had thought a little more deeply, they would have found that the only way to keep it entire was to introduce an immediate reformation into it: to deſtroy the ſubterfuges of corruption, by means of which that repreſentation may be ſo debilitated as to be rendered a mere nullity—a phantom—or, to ſpeak more properly, a fiend-like inſtrument of oppreſſion, veiled in in the angelic ſemblance of Liberty. To prevent this, they would, I believe, if their attention had been ſufficiently directed to this object, have reſtored the people to their natural and unalienable right (confirmed by the ſpirit of their conſtitution,) the right of *annual parliaments and univerſal ſuffrage*.

Well then, citizens, if it be true, that originally the democracy was the baſis and foundation of the Britiſh conſtitution; if it be true that the revolution in 1688, was not made for the purpoſe of weakening liberty, but for the purpoſe of ſtrengthening it, I have a right to conclude, that democracy is of right, the baſis of our government; and that *we ought to conſider the government of this country, as a repreſentative democracy, admitting at the ſame*

time, the check and controul of an hereditary ariſtocracy, called a Houſe of Lords, and veſting the executive government in a perſon whom we call, not a MONARCH, *but a* KING.

This then is a ſenſe in which the word democracy is not only juſtifiable, but proper; and to vindicate the democracy is equally legal, equally conſtitutional, as it is conſiſtent with the fundamental principles of juſtice and of reaſon.

In this ſenſe, and in this only, I beg the audience will underſtand me, when I recommend the purification and ſupport of the democracy of this country, and a zealous attachment to the principles of that democracy.

But, Citizens, it has been obſerved by Hume, and he brings a great number of facts to ſupport this part of his obſervation, that the government of this country, which for a long while before had been running ſtrongly towards *a ſort of democracy*, had, when he wrote, that is to ſay, fifty years ago, for a conſiderable time been ſetting very ſtrongly in towards *abſolute monarchy*: and this man, who calls himſelf a Briton, has the degeneracy of mind to declare, that abſolute monarchy is not only the natural tendency of the government of Britain, but the deſirable end to which the conſtitution ought to arrive.

But while theoriſts of one deſcription are talking of promoting the power of the crown, and increaſing the monarchic authority; and while theoriſts of another deſcription are talking of ſupporting the dignity of the democracy, by veſting larger powers in the Houſe of Commons, the plain and ſimple fact is, that *the government of this country, practically ſpeaking, is no longer either a democracy, or a monarchy, nor a mixture of monarchy and democracy; but a uſurped oligarchy, conſtituted by a ſet of borough-mongers, who have ſtolen at once the liberties of the people, and abuſed the prerogatives of the crown.*

To theſe men every ſpecies of reformation, every ſpecies of diſcuſſion, ſeems equally abhorrent and frightful. To them, the democracy which I deſcribed in the firſt inſtance, and the conſtitutional democracy which I deſcribed in the ſecond, were equally dreadful. Every thing that ſhould have a tendency to give any ſway or influence to reaſon, or to throw any authority into the hands of the people, appeared ſo formidable, that they looked with equal malevolence and hatred upon the moſt moderate reformer and the moſt violent revolutioniſt.

This was evident from the commencement of the revolution in France:—a revolution which, I will be bold to ſay, till it was diſturbed by the intrigues of foreign deſpots—till it was counteracted

counteracted by the machinations of *Pitt* and his coadjutors, conducted upon principles ſo philoſophical, with a humanity ſo aſtoniſhing, and with a benevolence ſo enlivening, that it has almoſt lifted one's ideas of the human ſpecies beyond the ordinary level upon which we have been uſed to contemplate them, and painted to us that regenerated country as a nation of philoſophers indeed!—or rather of a guardian genii dropped from the ſkies, to reſtore peace, wiſdom, and happineſs, to every quarter of the globe. Oligarchic uſurpers dreaded, however, the appearances of ſuch a revolution: they dreaded it more than they would have dreaded even the ſanguinary proceedings which, by their artifices, have ſince taken place, and upon which they have openly boaſted their hopes of a renovation of that ſyſtem, which would be friendly to the continuation of the orderly regular governments of tyranny and corruption, among the nations of the continent, and to the ſyſtem of rotten boroughs, by which the people of this country have been ſo long oppreſſed, taxed, and inſulted.

Men who dread the truth, and who have a cauſe to ſupport, whoſe moſt characteriſtic attribute is a rottenneſs at the very core, always attempt to calumniate thoſe who enter into diſcuſſion. And I remember a couple of little anecdotes of this kind, which perhaps will form ſome degree of parallel to the ravings of Mr. *Burke* and his followers. The former of theſe is from an "Eſſay on Demoniac Poſſeſſions," printed in a recent volume of the "Tranſactions of the Mancheſter Society," in which there is a quotation from an old book, written by a pious divine of the church of England, one of thoſe inſpired gentlemen, whoſe holineſs may be diſcovered by their lawn ſleeves, and who are vulgarly called Biſhops. This venerable and right reverend book was written to prove the exiſtence of *witches ghoſts*, and *hobgoblins*; and the holy man who wrote it ventures to ſay, that, if you begin once to doubt the exiſtence of witches, ghoſts and hobgoblins, farewell to all hopes of the ſalvation of your wicked ſoul: for "as it is a "well-known maxim, that they who are for no Biſhops are "for no King; ſo it is equally well known, that they who "are not believers in ghoſts and witches, cannot be believers "in God."—The other anecdote has come to me only in a traditionary way: you muſt not therefore expect chapter and verſe. But I am told that one Mr. Toplady, in one of his ſublime and terrible orations, laid down a maxim equally clear and demonſtrative of the damning dangers of inveſtigation,

and the conſequent neceſſity of making a wide gulp, and ſwallowing down the whole of the eſtabliſhed creed at once, without any chewing. According to him, if once you begin to waver and enquire, you are loſt; and the ſteps to perdition are theſe: from *Calviniſm* you go to *Arminianiſm*, from *Aminianiſm* to *Arianiſm*, from *Arianiſm* to *Socinianiſm*, from *Socinianiſm* to *Deiſm*, from *Deiſm* to *Atheiſm* and from *Atheiſm* to the *Devil*.

In the ſame way argues that mirror of *political orthodoxy* Mr. *Burke*—for intolerance, religious or political, is the ſame in principle; and muſt conſequently appeal to the ſame mode of reaſoning. If theſe enquiries, ſays he, in eſſence, at leaſt, if not in words—if theſe enquiries are permitted to go on in the world—if political reformations are tolerated by the regular governments of Europe, from overthrowing the deſpotiſm of France, they will begin to reform the corruptions of *rotten baroughs* in *Britain*:—from reforming the corruptions of *rotten boroughs*, they will attack *places* and *penſion*; and from attacking *places* and *penſions*, they will proceed to *grumble* at *enormos taxes*;—from grumbling at enormous taxes, they will attack the *enchanted caſtle* of the *Britiſh Conſtitution* itſelf, overthrow the venerable remains of feudal nechromancy, break down the magic tripos of *anceſtreal inſpiration*; and hurl the *great magician* from his chair; throw all things into anarchy, and thence fall headlong into political perdition.

In the pious hope therefore of ſaving us from this calamitous fall, he wrote the moſt raving and fantaſtical, ſublime and ſcurrilous, paltry and magnificent, and every way moſt aſtoniſhing book ever ſent into the world. A book, I will venture to ſay, which has made more democrats, among the thinking part of mankind, than all the works ever written in anſwer to to it; or all the labours of thoſe, who according to the cant phraſes, and nonſenſical jargon of our miniſter and his agents, *organiſe* anarchy and *eſtabliſh* confuſion, in every corner of the world.

Yes, I will venture to ſay, that it is impoſſible for any thinking man, really meditating upon the conſequences of the facts and principles which every now and then eſcape from the pen of this Burke, even in this very publication, and marking the ſhallow pretences upon which his favo-

favorite doctrines are built—it is impoſſible for any man, be his prejudice ever ſo ſtrong, to read that book without being convinced, that Mr. Burke is entirely in the wrong; and that the truth lies on the ſide which he is ſo eager to calumniate.—I confeſs for my own part, that this was the impreſſion the book made upon me. I had like many others, been educated in the high veneration of certain high-ſounding words, and could not think that any thing could poſſibly be wrong in ſo *glorious and happy a conſtitution*, as that enjoyed by *this moſt favoured corner of the world*, where felicity bloſſoms like the primroſe under every hedge, and happineſs towers like the lofty oak in every foreſt. But when I came to read Burke's book (and I had a profeſſional reaſon for reading it with very ſerious attention) I was aſtoniſhed to hear the man talk of the revolution in 1688, as of an act by which the privileges and liberties of the people were taken away! as an act by which our anceſtors relinquiſhed for ever a natural and impreſcriptible right, to which formerly he ſeems to admit we might have laid ſome claim.

When I found him him laying down theories ſo contradictory to ſenſe and hiſtory; and when I found him in order to throw unmeritted calumny on the friends of liberty, repreſenting a woman whoſe monſtrous vices would have rendered her an object of diſguſt, but for the particular ſituation in which the accident of birth had placed her, as a ſtar deſcending from heaven upon the earth, to warm, illuminate, and cheer mankind—when I found him laying down principles which deſtroy his own concluſions, and aſſerting facts which deſtroy his own principles—when I found him, in the ſame breath denying the right of a people whom he calls free, to judge of the conduct of their rulers, and rejecting with diſdain the ſuppoſition that ſuch rulers ought to conſult the feelings and ſtand in awe of the opinions of the people, and yet contending that it was impoſſible for the members of the conſtituent aſſembly of France, to effect their purpoſe of giving freedom to France, becauſe "To ſecure any degree of ſobriety in the propoſitions made "by the leaders in any public aſſembly, *they ought to reſpect "in ſome degree, perhaps to fear, thoſe whom they conduct:*— "To be led any otherwiſe than blindly, the followers "muſt be qualified, if not for actors, at leaſt for judges;"

that

that is ſay, the people muſt either be driven like wild beaſts, or elſe they muſt enabled to judge for themſelves: and how are they to be enabled to judge, but by that very diffuſion of information, the very mention of extending which to the *Swiniſh Multitude*, throws Mr. Burke into ſuch paroxyſms of frenzy!—"To be led otherwiſe "than blindly," ſays he, "the followers muſt be qua-"lified, if not for actors, at leaſt for judges; they muſt "be judges alſo of *natural weight and authority*;"—not the factious authority of tyranny and wealth—but "NATURAL WEIGHT AND AUTHORITY!!!"—— When I found in this farago, every part of which, that is not founded in groſs falſehood and miſrepreſentation, militates in principle againſt his own concluſions, nothing (to ſpeak in Johnſonian phraſeology) but the *frenzies of ſublimity, the contradictions of reaſon, and the tortuoſities of ſophiſtication*, could I avoid ſuſpecting, that there was "ſomething rotten in the State of Denmark," which this State Juggler wanted to conceal from view; and that there was in reality ſomething ſo excellent in the principles eſpouſed by the *French Revolutioniſts*, that it was impoſſible for a man even to write againſt them without promoting them? The fact is, that nothing can be fatal to truth but ſilence (or commotion). Do but write or ſpeak, no matter how abſurd the principles you ſet out upon, and it muſt triumph. Nay, perhaps the beſt way to promote it, in an enquiring age, is to write away againſt it as faſt as you poſſibly can.

The writing of this book was certainly one of the firſt active cauſes of the growth of democracy in this country. Diſcuſſion was no doubt conſiderably promoted by the immortal writings of *Thomas Paine*, *Joel Barlow*, *Thomas Cooper* of Mancheſter, *James Mackintoſh*, and many other enlightened men, who took up the pen to vindicate the revolution of France: little imagining that becauſe *they* had thus vindicated the French revolution, perſons in this country, ſome of whom had never read their books, were to be tried for high treaſon for that which they had written.

But However theſe books aſſiſted, and undoubtedly they did very conſiderably aſſiſt the progreſs of the cauſe of Democracy, it is to be obſerved, that they owed their exiſtence to the publication of *Burke*; and therefore

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we are to look upon him as the great father and firſt propagator of the principles of democracy in this country.

But mark the ſtep that followed!—It was thought that the reading of theſe anſwers would be a very pernicious thing indeed. It was never attempted to prevent perſons from reading the book itſelf: for you know there is no harm in reading or inquiring upon on ſide of the queſtion—but to attempt to examine both—O 'tis moſt horrible! and on the oppoſition ſide, all *regular governments* will agree that the preſs ought to be ſhackled, as much as poſſible. Shackled, therefore, it was reſolved it ſhould be; and the *Diabolus Regis* (as in ancient times the king's Attorney General was called)—the *Diabolus Regis*, that is the *King's Devil* was inſtructed to launch forth the ſubterranean thunders of his legal Pandemonium. Proclamations were immediately iſſued to forbid the people to read or think but the devil was in the people (not the *King's Devil*, but *Tom Paine's Devil*, or a devil of ſome other deſcription) and the more they were forbidden to read or think, they did but think and read the more. Theſe proclamations inſtead of preventing their career of enquiry, made them enquire with more avidity, and judge with greater profundity: and I underſtand it was very common, on market days, in little country towns, for the country, people who had never heard of *Paine's* name before, to go to the little book-ſhops, and, not knowing any other way to aſk for it, to make themſelves underſtood by ſaying, "Why Maiſter, we want that there book we "maunt read." Thus were proclamations againſt Democrats, a ſecond effective cauſe of promoting the principles of democracy.

Proclamations not ſucceeding, the next thing was to proceed to proſecutions: accordingly we find, that men have been proſecuted by wholeſale, ſome for *writing* books, others for having publiſhed them, and others for having read them. For my part, my caſe was a little ſingular; for I was proſecuted, and that to the jeopardy of my life, *for not having read them*. *Joel Barlow's* book, in particular, which was one of the things from which large extracts were read upon my Trial, I had never ſeen till after my acquittal. Since, indeed, I have read and admired it very much: for I thought it neceſſary, as I had been in danger of being hanged for it, that I ſhould know what it contained.

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That excellent and worthy citizen, *Frend*, was alſo to be perſecuted in the univerſity of which he was ſo ornamental a member, for having written a book profeſſedly with a view of reconciling the contending parties, and preventing the exceſſes which he and every man foreſaw that the mad extravagances of the miniſter were plunging us into. *Winterbottom* for preaching ſermons in which nobody can diſcover what were the paſſages that were called ſeditious, was thrown into Newgate, where he is to lie four years; and *Holt*, the printer of the Newark Herald, while the *Duke of Richmond* and Mr. *Pitt* are the principal members of the cabinet of this country, is actually proſecuted, condemned, and impriſoned, for re-publiſhing the letter, which the Duke of *Richmond*, Mr. *Pitt*'s patriotic coadjutor ſo induſtriouſly diſſeminated throughout the country, as containing the beſt and only means of reſtoring our conſtitution to its ancient vigor and purity.

But it was not enough to proſecute men for books. Perjured ſpies, men known to be inflamed with the utmoſt rancour and hatred againſt the parties, were permitted to ſwear in courts of juſtice, from their looſe recollections of converſation ſtill more looſe and unpremeditated; and, upon ſuch evidence, men were condemned for indiſcrete and idle words: words which, not being deliberately ſpoken, ought to be conſidered, as all haſty and unpremeditated words muſt be in the view of candour and reaſon, as perfectly innocent.

Breillat was condemned for expreſſions of this kind, alledged by his proſecutors to have been uttered almoſt a year before the time of his proſecution. In the hour of inebriation, in a coffee-houſe, the maſter of which gave the information, poor *Hodgſon* was taken into cuſtody, crammed in a vile dungeon; and now forſooth lies in jail, for laughing over a bargain, which no good man will approve, —made between the *Prince of Heſſe Caſſel* and the *Elector of Hanover*, reſpecting the ſale of their ſubjects at £30 per man; and having therefore called his moſt ſacred and auguſt majeſty "A Hog-butcher!" What is majeſty if it can be wounded by a nick-name?—And who ever heard of any proſecution commenced againſt that moſt infamous ſlanderer *Edmunde Burke*, for calumniating the ſtill more ſacred and auguſt majeſty of the people by calling them a *Swiniſh Multitude?* Yet for this fooliſh piece of levity and buffoonery

buffoonery, (while the ſpectacled buffoon of St. Steven's is yet at large) is poor *Hodgſon*, forſooth, alſo, confined in Newgate, with a fine upon his back, in violation of the conſtitution of the country, Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, which expreſsly ſay that no judge ſhall, at his peril lay unconſcionable fines upon any man, which muſt weigh him down for ever. There he lies loaded with an enormous fine, evidently for the expreſs purpoſe of keeping him a priſoner for life: becauſe thoſe who impoſed the fine, know that neither he nor his connections are worth the ſum of money fixed upon his head.

The caſe of poor *Froſt* was ſtill more wicked. He had been drinking with his friends at a coffee-houſe, in a private room; and was retiring to his home, when a man ſtopped him as he was going through the coffee room: "I think "you are *Citizen* Froſt"—'Yes, I am'—"You have been "in France lately?"—'Yes, I have.'—"How do you find "things going on in France?"—'Oh very glorioufly, 'every thing goes on juſt as it ought.'—"Oh you are a "liberty man; you are for liberty and equality I think."—'Yes, I am for liberty and equality."—"What for liberty "and equality and no king?"—'Yes Sir, for liberty and 'equality and no king'—"What are you for liberty and "equality and no king in England?" Vexed and indignant as every one muſt feel, under ſuch circumſtances, he replied, 'Yes, Sir, I am for liberty and equality and no 'king in England.'

I was preſent in the court when this cauſe was tried: and I heard this *Diabolus Regis*, fulminate ſuch a volume of horrible denunciations, and opprobrium againſt the culprit, that one would have imagined, if one had only heard his ſpeech, and not known the particular crime for which the man was tried, that he had abſolutely endeavoured to murder the king, put his ſons to the torture, and violate the purity of his daughters.

Indignation and not fear was ſtirred by theſe proceedings; and men became more and more democratic, when they ſaw the violence aud injuſtice with which thoſe who were the enemies of democracy proceeded.

The next ſtep, however, inſtead of being a milder was of a more ſevere deſcription. Men for ſpeaking their ſentiments in a convention—ſentiments, many of which may be traced to the glorious Alfred himſelf, the founder of our liberty—ſentiments which, at the period of the re-

volution, would have been thought to be the boaſt and the glory of Engliſhmen. Britons—Men for ſpeaking theſe ſentiments, under that conſtitution which pretends to be the ſame as was eſtabliſhed at the Revolution in 1688, were tranſported, like felons, to Botany Bay.

However what is the conſequence? How ignorant muſt thoſe men be who think opinions will be beaten down by perſecution?—Are they ignorant of the hiſtory of their country? Are they ignorant of the hiſtory of that chriſtianity, which they profeſs, but which they diſgrace by their conduct? Do they not know that, when opinions are perſecuted, if they have but the leaſt portion of comparative truth, they will grow ten times ſtronger in conſequence of that perſecution?

Men who never troubled themſelves with the inveſtigation before, felt their blood boil within them at this treatment; and ſtepped forward to ſhew that they were not aſhamed of being the advocates of men thus cruelly treated: and from being advocates of the men, they became advocates of the cauſe. Though they would not have been ſo but for the injuſtice with which thoſe opinions were perſecuted.

Well, finding every thing they had done to prevent the progreſs of liberty had only increaſed its progreſs—what was the next object? *Blood! Blood! Blood!* Ferocity could no longer be reſtrained. Thoſe beings whoſe glaring eyes, rolling like fiends, and convulſive lips, quivering like beaſts of prey, with ſavage expectation, exulted over thoſe beings whom they thought they had in their power, and thus made a place, which ought to be the ſeat of wiſdom and of ſanctity, a ſort of bear-garden by their ferocity—and who treated the perſons who were brought before them like reptiles unfit to be looked at—theſe wretches—pardon me if I am too warm in my expreſſions—Humanity cannot always bear with patience the recollection of ſuch inſulting brutality, as I have encountered!—Theſe beings attempted to take away the lives of men for perſevering in doctrines they themſelves had ſet afloat; and upon the ſtream and current of which they had ſailed into the port of power.

In the midſt of their ferocity, however, they were cowards. They did not dare to act a wicked part like men: and in order to fortify themſelves againſt the conſequences of ſo illegal an act, they ſeduced perſons, who, till that time were ſuppoſed to have ſome little character, to join them,

them, and make a moſt unnatural coalition, and Whig and Tory joined together in a faction ſo heterogeneous, as was never before thought of; that thus by their united power they might venture to deſtroy a few plain, ſimple, fortuneleſs, unconnected men, who had dared to tell their fellow citizens that they ought to be free, and that the principles which were true when theſe men were out of power, continued ſtill to be ſo now they are in. Hence came forward, from the ſame cowardly ſpirit, the aſſaſſin-like attempts of toad-eating ſcribblers and hired journaliſts. A pamphlet was publiſhed by Mr, *Reeves's* Bookſeller, the very title of which treated us as if we were already convicted; ſpeaking of *the treaſon committed by the perſons now in cuſtody upon a charge!*

What affirm that a treaſon was actually committed, and ſend theſe affirmations in heaps to every corner of the country, while the men remained yet untried; and the miniſter and all the lawyers around him had not found out what ſpecific crime to charge upon the warrant! What, was this prejudication to be permitted in this *land of liberty?* Yes and more flagitious prejudications ſtill.

Sir *John Roſe*, the Recorder of London, and one of the commiſſioners, by whom we were afterwards to be tried, if the papers recorded juſtly his ſpeech on that occaſion, ſtood up in his judicial capacity upon the ſwearing in of the new Sheriffs, and accuſed us, as though we had been men already convicted, of having conſpired againſt the life of the King. "Gentlemen, you will have in the diſ-
"charge of your functions, duties of peculiar impor-
"tance to fulfil. You will have to take charge and
"cuſtody over men who have had the profligate audacity
"to lift the arm of treaſon, againſt the ſacred life of the
"King."

Theſe are our *Judges!!!* O Britons! Britons!—What is our ſituation if upon ſuch Judges, and ſuch witneſſes as thoſe who ſent us before ſuch judges thought fit to provide, the pure adminiſtration of juſtice is to depend.

But Citizens, theſe continual calumnies and prejudications would not do; theſe are attempts which the paſſions of men cannot endure. Theſe are attempts which even the perverted judgments of Ariſtocrats will not approve. They had ſtretched the cord till it broke: and the men whoſe lives they ſought, found glorious champions among the foremoſt leaders at the bar; they wanted not the aſſiſtance

aſſiſtance of honeſt men in another branch of the profeſſion; and they found a glorious aſylum in that port and harbour of Britiſh liberty—[AN INDEPENDENT JURY! which all the arts (and arts enough were appealed to) of courtiers and miniſters could not corrupt.

This attempt broke the charm of popular infatuation. The furious Ariſtocrats hid their heads in confuſion; and I am happy to ſay, the Democrats had the virtue and the wiſdom not to abuſe their triumph. Inſtead of becoming more furious, they became more moderate; and ſhewed the genuine excellence of their principles, by not falling into that intemperance which the enthuſiaſm of weak minds is too apt to produce, but which muſt be always injurious to the cauſe of truth and virtue!

But citizens, there is another way in which theſe perſecutions ſerved the cauſe of liberty. It was pretty univerſally believed, that one of the terms of agreement made with certain parties when they came into the Grand Cabinet Coalition, was, that the miniſter ſhould abſolutely prove us to have been guilty of High Treaſon, and convict us accordingly.

Having found with what ſecurity and confidence he could *promiſe and vow in the name of a Houſe of Commons*, without the trouble of a previous conſultation, the miniſter was ready to offer himſelf as godfather alſo for a Britiſh Jury: but a Britiſh Jury is not a Britiſh Houſe of Commons; and that which he promiſed in their names, they did not think, *when they came to meet, that themſelves were bound to perform.*

The country perceiving two ſuch ſtrong and mighty factions, become ſo weak and ſo impotent, that they were obliged to combine together in this extraordinary manner, and to adopt ſuch extraordinary meaſures, againſt a few ſimple unconnected men, began to enquire what the reaſon of this could be; and they immediately found that the real reaſon was *corruption*—that theſe virtuous Whigs finding they had no longer any chance of having all the loaves and fiſhes to their own ſhare, very prudently conſented to take half the loaves and fiſhes, rather than have none at all!

This then deſtroyed all confidence in party: and confidence in party has always been found the greateſt enemy to the principles of liberty, and the genuine rights of mankind. It is in principles only that you can confide; and

and no man can be entitled to countenance or affection, but as he is ſubſervient to thoſe glorious principles upon which the rights and happineſs of mankind are built, and upon which alone thoſe rights and that happineſs can be ſupported.

The enormous taxation with which the people are burdened is another of the operating cauſes: and when they found themſelves, by the multiplication of places and penſions, burdened with additional loads, this led them to conſider a little more deeply the principles of that democratic branch of the conſtitution, without which the conſtitution of this country would be worth nothing at all. When they found that not only *ariſtocrats* but *oppoſition men* had places and penſions; when they found that not only the Tory *Pitt* and the Tories that adhered to him, but the Whig *Stormont*, now *Mansfield*, and other Whigs held places of ſome thouſands a year, paid by the toil and induſtry of the people—when they found that illuſtrious ornament, in point of intellect, to the country in which he lives—that man of powerful mind whoſe exertions have contributed alone to furniſh any reſpectability to the Whig Party during the laſt half century—that even *Fox*, though in truth he *h lds* no ſinecure place, has *ſpent the the money for which he ſold one:* and that therefore he found himſelf bound to contend that patent places are property ſo ſacred that you muſt not venture to attack them; not even in the ſhape of taxation; when they found all this was it poſſible for them not to ſee through the juggle of the preſent ſyſtem, and to wiſh for an aſſemby in which the democracy ſhould be purely and truly repreſented?

In this then it is palpable, that both parties are agreed. Adminiſtration and Oppoſition are in harmonious concert: when Mr. *Harriſon* brought forward a motion for laying a tax upon the places of perſons receiving favors from the Crown Mr. *Pitt* thought it impoſſible any *honourable gentleman* could ſuppoſe the *honourable gentleman* to be in earneſt. No, no, he could not ſuppoſe the honourable gentleman could mean any thing but a joke. Aſtoniſhing aſſurance! as though he ſhould have ſaid in direct language, "What does the honourable gentleman ſuppoſe, after we have been graſping at power ſo long and ſo ſucceſsfully—after we have deviſed ſo many expedients to turn that power to our own advantage—after we have laid ſuch burdens upon the ſhoulders of the people, in order

der that we may fill our own coffers—after we have taken such pains to secure to ourselves the plunder of the country, does the honourable gentleman suppose us to be so weak and inconsistent, as, that we will now suffer by our own free will and consent, any part of that plunder to be taken away from us!"

Thus, then, whatever disagreement there may be between Whigs and Tories, as to who ought to have the largest share of those places and pensions, and the like, it is evident that they are perfectly agreed, that no part of this sacred property shall be touched for the purpose of lightening the burden of the people. Nor is *John Bull* so blind as not to perceive the juggle: and hence an additional reason for wishing the restoration of that true Democratic House of Commons by which alone this juggling can be put an end to.

Citizens, I am afraid I shall not be able to go through all the subjects I proposed this evening. I believe I shall not be able to enter at large into the blunders, the ridiculous professions, the bravadoes and boastings with which the present war has been attended. Suffice it to say, the people have opened their eyes, and, having discovered the real objects of the war, are dissatisfied with it's continuance. They have begun to enquire how this war came to have been undertaken; and they perceive it to have been undertaken, in consequence of their having no organ to represent their interests in the national Council —and they begin to think also that the man who earns every thing, whose labour creates all the wealth of the country, has almost as much right to have some voice in naming the representatives by which the country is to be governed, as those who produce nothing but consume the whole.

Something too towards opening the eyes of the people, has been done by the imbecility with which this war has been conducted—which began with bullying, was carried on with absurdity, and is likely to terminate with disgrace. This war and this conduct of the war has tended to a considerable degree to open their eyes: and blunders and disgraces, tho' they have not made the Minister a whit wiser, have had some effect upon the people; and, if I am not much mistaken, *he will find* that *they* are somewhat wiser than they were.

I hope they will be wise enough; that whatever they attempt they will attempt by peace, reason and justice; not by tumult

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and violence. Commotion and coercion are the game of the Miniſter; enquiry and reaſon are the game for us: becauſe we have truth on our ſide, and if we once perſuade the great multitude of the people (and ſoldiers are people as well as we are)—if we can once convince the great body of the people that they have rights; and perſuade them peaceably and firmly to demand their rights, I ſhould like to ſee the four or five hundred men, or the four or five thouſand, who would have the impudence (not to ſay the courage) to ſtand againſt the congregated voice of the nation. It is the very nature of men, who are wrong, who feel they are convicted of wrong, and are confronted by millions having truth on their ſides, to bluſh and retire; and violence is only rendered neceſſary by the intemperance of thoſe who have not patience enough to wait for the peaceful operations of human reaſon.

Citizens, there is one very important thing however which the preſent war has taught us, it has taught us the abſurdity of the idea that *one Engliſhman can beat half a dozen Frenchmen.* It has taught us that if Engliſhmen, formerly, had any advantage over Frenchmen, it was only becauſe the Engliſh were more free than the French: for that liberty and enthuſiaſm are every thing, and climate, feature, and complexion nothing at all.

The infatuation of Miniſters however ſtill continues. They have rummaged all the univerſe almoſt to find out perſons, who would accept of penſions, commonly called ſubſidies, in order to ſupport the alliance; and having ranged almoſt the whole of this terraqueous globe, I ſuppoſe the next ſtep will be to ſubſidize the Prince of the infernal regions himſelf, and get him to become their ally; as being a fit—perhaps the fitteſt agent for their purpoſe.

Nay, there are ſtrong ſymptoms of ſome negociation of this ſort already: for they have lately acquired an Ally who may be ſuppoſed, by ſome, to have dealings with that great perſonage—and to be in no ſmall degree in his confidence: and I ſhould not be at all ſurprized if Mrs. *Williams*, of *Store Street*, who ſo timely ſtepped forward to boaſt her loyalty to the King, and acquaintance with the Queen of this country, and dedicated her work to her, foretelling that *Louis* XVIII. would be reſtored to the Crown of France; that the Stadtholder would be reſtored in Holland, and that the arms of Britain (in defiance of the falſe prophecies of Brothers) would be triumphant, and the houſe of Bruuſwick preſide upon the Britiſh throne for ever—I ſhould not be at all ſurprized if this

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auguſt perſonage ſhould by and by produce her formal credentials, and take upon herſelf the character of Miniſter Plenipotentiary from his Sooty Highneſs: and then both the Pope and the Devil may have their Ambaſſadors at Court; and the atheiſtical practice of burning them in effigy on the 5th of November, diſgrace the country no more!

But there is one reaſon why, perhaps, an alliance of this kind might not ſo very much contribute towards increaſing the ſpirit of democracy among us as ſome other alliances have: for we are informed that ſpirits neither eat nor drink; and that the Devil has wealth enough in Pandemonium already. He will not, therefore, want either ſubſidy or loan; and it will not be neceſſary to ſend our bread and beef to the lower regions to feed theſe new allies. This, however, we are obliged to do for our other allies, and the common people finding themſelves reduced to miſery and ſtarvation, as in the moſt fertile parts of this country you may, if you chuſe, ſee that they are reduced!—I ſay, the common people finding themſelves ſo reduced, for the ſake of ſupporting the principles of ariſtocratic domination and uſurpation, is it not natural that they ſhould be repelled with diſguſt from principles the maintaining of which coſt them ſo dear; and be led to enquire whether the cheaper dominion of pure juſtice and free equal repreſentation is not to be preferred to the expence of ariſtocratic corruption?

Citizens, I cannot part from you without ſaying a few words relative to the condition of the lower orders of ſociety. You who liſten to me are moſt of you perſons who are raiſed, in ſome degree, above the miſery which I have been condemned to view: but do not ſuppoſe, becauſe you are a few ſteps higher on the ladder of ſociety, that the lower ſteps can be broken away without ſecuring your deſtruction.

Citizens, in the Iſle of Wight, where Nature ſeems to have poured her beauties, her ſublimity and her fertility with the moſt laviſh hand, where the common average of production upon every acre of land is a third part more than the average of the other parts of Britain—in the midſt of this fertility, in the midſt of this abundance, in the midſt of all the ſublime beauties and romantic ſcenes which that enchanting country preſents, how often has my heart ached to behold the beggared miſery of the great body of the people.—*Great body!* No, there is no great body of people there. Population is waſting away. Turn wherever you will, you ſee cottages falling into ruin; you ſee manſions of luxury riſing, the fine

fine feelings of whoſe maſters cannot endure the ſight of wretchedneſs: and who, therefore, permit not a cottage to riſe within their vicinity. There you may ſee the little farm-houſe turned into the ſummer houſe of ſome gentleman or lady of quality; the grounds upon which the farmer lived turned into *Fermes Orné's*, where the produce is graſped by the luxurious individual who has laid out the country for his pleaſure and amuſement. It is true it is better that they produce corn there than that they ſhould lay it out entirely in articles of pleaſure and luxury. But what is the conſequence? The wealthy individual hoards up the grain. He has no calls for rent; he has no particular neceſſities to compel him to do juſtice to ſociety, and bring his corn to a fair market; and therefore he ſpeculates, and waits for an opportunity to take advantage of the artificial diſtreſſes of mankind: and to ſuch a height are theſe ſpeculations carried, that corn in the *Iſle of Wight* has been ſold this ſummer at 20l. and 24l. a load, ſtanding on the ground: though in the memory of the oldeſt man alive in that iſland it was never 12l. before.

Citizens I have not concluded the picture. It happens that this iſland produces in one year, as is admitted by all the hiſtorians, as much grain and cattle as would maintain the inhabitants ten. It produces, alſo, the greateſt abundance of ſhell fiſh, particularly crabs and lobſters, which are ſent to the London market. The markets, alſo, of Portſmouth, Goſport and Southampton are ſupplied with vegetables from this ſpot—and boats, and even large veſſels, are built in the ports and creeks. Yet with all this, except in a few particular ſpots, the country is almoſt a Deſert in point of population; and ſometimes they are reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs to get in their harveſt.

You will ſuppoſe, then, that the peaſantry being ſo few, live in happineſs and comfort; that they have decent apparel, decent education, eat a little meat twice or three times a week at leaſt. But, alas! No ſuch thing. Their wages are not ſufficient for bread. Their children run in barefoot beggary in groupes, at the chariot wheels of their oppreſſors; and they will run for miles to get a halfpenny by opening a gate to let you paſs through; ſave your ſervant the trouble of diſmounting, as if the curſe of Canaan had fallen upon them that ſervants unto ſervants they ſhould be. And thus is the univerſal condition of the peaſantry of that country. I have been grieved at my heart to ſee human beings thus brought up in ignorance. I have

been grieved to my ſoul to ſee beings whom nature made my equals thus ſubjected by uſurping man to cringing beggary: and doomed to play tricks and anticks to extort that from the levity of their beholders which compaſſion will not impart. I have grieved to ſee the fineſt forms in the world (for the ruſtic females of the iſland have peculiar advantages in point of perſon) climbing over rocks to collect lampets—miſerable ſhell fiſh that ſtick to the ſhelves and ſhingles, to ſuſtain an exiſtence deſtitute of comfort, deſtitute of intelligence, deſtitute of every enjoyment—nay of every decent neceſſary of life.

Oh citizens, reflect, I conjure you, that the common claſs of mankind and you are one! that you are one in nature! that you are one in intereſt! and that thoſe who ſeek to *oppreſs the lower*, ſeek to *annihilate the intermediate orders*. It is their intereſt to have but two claſſes, the very high and the very low, that thoſe they oppreſs may be kept at too great a diſtance—and in too much ignorance to be enabled to ſeek redreſs; and that thoſe who partake of their favors may take as little as poſſible from them of the wages of corruption and iniquity.

I have generally been moſt anxious about the condition of the moſt diſtreſſed orders of ſociety, becauſe they have ſeldom an anxious advocate: we are apt to feel diſguſt at abject miſery and wretchedneſs, and the ſickly imagination turns away from ſuch objects of contemplation, It is therefore that I dwell particularly upon their caſe. But it is not to one claſs of the people I wiſh to confine myſelf; I wiſh not to limit juſtice to a particular ſphere.—I would have it extend throughout the univerſe, and be participated to every being, whatever be his condition, his colour, nation or his circumſtances. It is univerſal, and not partial juſtice that I contend for: the rights and happineſs of the univerſe, not the amelioration and benefit of a particular claſs.

Let me however conjure the middling orders of ſociety to remember that they are particularly intereſted: that if we have not peace and reform in time, thoſe who are now the middling, muſt ſoon be the lower orders; for oppreſſion, though it begins with the poor and helpleſs mounts upwards from claſs to claſs till it devours the whole: and let it be remembered, even by the wealthy and unfeeling merchant, who is now but too often the

ready

ready inſtrument of miniſterial tyranny, that the only favor reſerved for him is like the favor of *Polyphemus* to *Ulyſſes*—"You have endeavoured to gladden my heart," ſaid the one-eyed monſter, "by the beverage you have "impaited; and therefore when I have devoured your "companions; when I have torn their limbs to pieces, "and banquetted on their fleſh, you ſhall be the *laſt ſacri-* "*fice that ſhall be made to my rapacious maw.*"

THE HORRORS OF ROYAL AMBITION.

From the BATTLE *of* BARNET, *a Poem in the Peripatetic.*

[*Continued from p.* 208.)

LOUD cries of vengeance ſpeak their brave deſpair;
Raging they turn; as wolves their hunters tear:—
Or as the Elephant, whoſe giant might
Is arm'd by Nature for reſiſtleſs fight,
His haughty rage by martial art increas'd,
Tramples the myriad armies of the Eaſt—
Then (gall'd with wounds, and frantic with his pain)
Turns on his friends; aſſails the ſhrinking train,
And with promiſcuous carnage ſtrews the plain.
So turns the tide of this diſaſtrous day,
And their own ſwords the Earl's fierce ſquadrons ſlay;
Friend falls by friend, on comrades comrades charge;
And raging Devaſtation ſtalks at large—
O'er hills of ſlain his limbs enormous rears,
Joins the loud ſhout, and thunders in their ears;
Calls to their deſtin'd feaſt his vulture brood;
Whets his keen fangs, and bathes his lips with blood:
While frighted Pity, ſhrieking o'er the plain,
Bares her white breaſt, and wrings her hands in vain.
While thus the "Dogs of War," with wild deſpair,
Thoſe who "let ſlip," their furious havoc tear,
The bated chief, who ſtain'd his tuſks with gore,
"And made the foreſts tremble with his roar,"
Among his hunters, long, indignant, ſtands
O'er the ſtrew'd wreck of his diſorder'd bands;
This way and that the deathful fury deals,
And tenfold rage his hopeleſs pangs reveals;
Reſolv'd, and furious, in this cloſing ſtrife,
To crown the ſavage ſlaughters of his life;
Till, fate-commiſſioned, flies the thirſting dart,
Drives thro' his breaſt, and quivers in his heart—
Here, on this ſpot, perhaps, where now I tread,
Writhing in death, his mighty limbs were ſpread;
And while his vaſſals, prodigal of blood,
Pour'd on his tyrant corſe the vital flood,
And kept alive the dying flame of ſight,
Till added deaths appeas'd his ſullen ſprite,
In duſt and blood ſob'd forth that fiery ſoul
Earth could not hold, and Heaven could ſcarce control.

THE TRIBUNE. N°. XXVI.

Report on the STATE OF POPULAR OPINION, *and the Cauſes of the* rapid Diffuſion *of* DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES. *Part the Third. Including Inquiſitorial Aſſociations---Principles and Conduct of the War---Starvation---*IMPOLITIC TREATMENT OF THE SOLDIERY, &c. *Delivered at the Lecture Room, Beaufort Buildings, September 11th,* 1795.

CITIZENS,

ON the laſt evening I entered into an inveſtigation of the different ſpecies of democracy, or rather of the different interpretations which have been given to the word. And though I did not deny that there might be ſome prevalence of a ſpirit of abſolute democracy among us, the object to which I particularly directed your attention, was that *Conſtitutional democracy* which *ought to prevail in this country*, which I conceived generally did prevail, and which I recommended to your zealous affection and diligent cultivation.

I ſhall enter upon the buſineſs of this evening, by obſerving that in the former lecture, I was compelled to paſs over ſome topics in a more ſlight manner than, upon review, I find conſiſtent with their importance. Among other ſubjects, there are many facts relative to the war, and the influence it has had in rouſing in the public mind an anxious deſire for the revival of our conſtitutional democracy, which were then not animadverted upon; and alſo certain circumſtances preparatory to the preſent infamous cruſade, which were indeed very ſlightly paſſed over. The one I ſhall particularly notice is the ſyſtem of inquiſition introduced by the *Reevite* aſſociators: a ſyſtem, it is true, which late events have contributed, in a conſiderable degree, to ſuperſede in England, but which ſtill continues to rage, in another part of the nation, I mean in Scotland, with a degree of obſtinacy which would be ſurpriſing, if one did not recollect that *when Judges are permitted to make the law which they are to expound, there is no tyranny*

ſo abominable, no abſurdity ſo groſs, which they will not have the effrontery to practiſe!

Citizens, during the laſt ſeaſon, I had an aſſiſtant or ſecretary of the name of *Kennedy*, whoſe only recommendation to me was that I knew he had been driven by perſecution from Scotland: a country in which no man, however innocent, will ſtay to be tried if he can get out of it; becauſe there accuſation and condemnation are the ſame thing: one of the Judges of the Court of Juſticiary having indeed avowed as much, by ſaying in ſo many words, "*Gin they had na been guilty, they would na have been brought here!*"

This citizen, contrary to the advice of his friends, returned to Scotland, and was, of courſe, thrown into the Tolbooth, and a very curious charge is exhibited againſt him—to wit—of having been guilty of abſenting himſelf from Scotland, when the treaſon hunters were after him; and having "come to England, and there connected himſelf with the "diſaffected, conſpirators againſt our happy conſtitution:" which laſt, as I underſtand, are the words of the *Procurator Fiſcal*; and the interpretation of them is "having been ſecretary to an acquitted felon."

I dare ſay you had no idea before that you were a gang of conſpirators, or that we may be conſpirators without knowing it: juſt as myſtical divines inform us, that men may *ſin*—or, as they call it *fall*, ten times a day without being conſcious of once tripping.

But perhaps it will not be amiſs to take more particular notice of the origin of this ſyſtem of inquiſition, than I had time for on the laſt evening.

It had its commencement in the Reevite Aſſociation, which under the fanciful denomination of "Protectors of Liberty and Property," ſtepped forward to denounce every man whom they choſe to conſider as a leveller or republican, though they were not polite enough to give any interpretation of theſe cabaliſtic words.

This was one of the ſteps for precipitating the people into the preſent war. Numbers undoubtedly were deluded by the ſpecious pretences of theſe men. But the thinking part of mankind, inſtead of being ſhocked from the principles of liberty, began to ſuſpect that there muſt be ſomething very improper in the adminiſtration of our conſtitution, when it could ſtand in need of ſuch paltry props, to ſupport its power and give it artificial conſequence. This firſt attempt towards the Jacobinical eſtabliſhment of "*club law*," was followed up by the *Meeting at Merchant Taylor's Hall*; where the merchants

chants of this rich and flouriſhing country aſſembled together to behave towards thoſe who differed from their opinion with a degree of brutality that would have diſgraced a St. Giles's Club. I beheld them, myſelf, diſtorting their countenances with every diſgraceful expreſſion of blackguardiſm; and, with hideous noiſes, thruſhing their gnaſhing teeth and goggling eyes in the faces of thoſe individuals who had the courage to hold up their hands againſt their propoſitions, telling them, in terms and accents the moſt ferocious, that they ſhould mark them as diſaffected men, and take care that they ſhould meet with the puniſhment they deſerved, for not being preciſely of the opinion which they, in their great wiſdom had picked out from the journals and ledgers in their counting houſes.

I believe it is not difficult to prove that thoſe aſſociations contributed, in a very conſiderable degree, to increaſe the democratic principle; becauſe they ſtamped an authority upon the very right they meant to diſpute—*the right of popular aſſociation to direct, by the voice and will of the people, the diſpoſitions and actions of the government.* They however were of a different opinion; and I am informed, from very good authority, that many of the miniſterial merchants exulted with very great triumph, after this meeting; and in their letters to foreign and country correſpondents, boaſted triumphantly, and exclaimed, "well we have cruſhed thoſe levelling raſcals, effectually.

Citizens, I wiſh they had cruſhed the *levelling raſcals*—for the only levelling raſcals I ever knew in this country, are the *Reevite Aſſociations* and *cowardly alarmiſts.*

Reeves's aſſociation publicly propagated the doctrine of levelling property, which was never thought of before. Reeves's aſſociation attempted to level all character to one common ſtandard of baſeneſs and inſignificancy, and to ſubmit all the property of the country to the plunder of an upſtart faction, ſtruggling to retain the ſeat of power without law or conſtitution on their ſide, and without what is of ſtill more authority, the affections and confidence of the people.

The alarmiſts were very anxious to hurry us into a war, by which how far the levelling ſyſtem has been promoted let the innumerable bankruptcies that enſued, and the opulent families reduced to beggary declare.

But however theſe levelling principles of the Reevite aſſociators and alarmiſts, might ultimately tend to ſtrengthen the true principles of genuine democracy in our minds, it cannot be denied that, among a particular claſs of people a different

ſort of impreſſion was at firſt produced. Temporary infatuation, among the unthinking part of the community, was produced to a conſiderable degree by thoſe aſſociations, which was artfully increaſed by the inflammatory harrangues of placemen, penſioners, proprietors of rotten boroughs, and the expectants of commiſſions and contracts: who ſeemed, for a time, to be overwhelming every thing like democracy in our Conſtitution, and to be introducing a degree of tyranny which the country never before experienced. I ſay never before—for the tyranny of corruption, the tyranny of rotten borough-mongers, the tyranny of aſſociated inquiſitors, of men who hold their power and authority without any ſort of ſanction from the conſtitution whoſe forms they ſtill pretend to reverence and preſerve, is on account of its indefinable nature and *apparent* popularity, a tyranny more to be dreaded than that aſſumed by magiſtrates in the open eye of day, confirmed by arbitrary laws, or eſtabliſhed by principles of pure deſpotiſm.

But the people in time began to diſcover the error into which they had fallen, and to be anxious to retrieve that error. It was however too late. The war had taken place; bankruptcy had ſtalked through every part of the country, and a general proſpect of miſery preſented itſelf.

This ſituation of affairs produced a conviction upon the popular mind, that if we had not been entirely left to the power of the miſerable nominees of monopoliſts and money-jobbers, that it would have been impoſſible ſuch an infatuation ever could have taken place. For if the Parliament be appointed annually, by *the people*, they will find an intereſt in ſeeking the real welfare of the people; but if, on the contrary, great Lords, monopoliſts and money-jobbers, are the only men who are to elect your repreſentatives, they will be the only men whoſe intereſts will be conſulted; and the great body of the people will be certainly a prey to thoſe deluſions which artful individuals will endeavour to ſpread, in order to gratify their individual ambition and promote their ſchemes of private intereſt.

This conviction began to take conſiderable hold upon the public mind; and the anxiety to reſtore the loſt democracy of our conſtitution ſpread itſelf more amply among people of all deſcriptions: and hence it was that thoſe more coercive meaſures, which I alluded to in the former lecture, were adopted: how vainly adopted you have all ſeen.

The next fatal blow to the ſyſtem of monopoliſts and borough-mongers was the manner in which the war was conducted.

ducted. Britons have long been in the habit of boaſting the openneſs and generoſity of their ſpirit. Proud of their courage, zealous to defend the reputation of frankneſs, they were ſhocked to ſee that inſtead of open attack, famine was to be made the inſtrument for the deſtruction of a brave and generous people; that corruption was to ſupply the place of open effort; and that intrigue, treachery, cabal and purchaſed inſurrection were to be employed in the heart of the enemy's country. Then it was that Britons began to bluſh at the reflection of having loſt that freedom, upon which depended the generous energies of their ſouls and the noble character in which they had ſo long prided themſelves.

This ſyſtem of hired inſurrections however is not to be abandoned. To ſupport *the juſt claim of regular governments to the excluſive reputation of faith*, the *Vendeans*, who had made their peace with the republic, are to be hired, with *Britiſh* gold, once more to violate every oath and contract, and to lift the dagger of aſſaſſination once more againſt the generous and confiding breaſt of that republic, which had had the magnanimity to pardon their rebellion, and to reſtore them to the boſom of the country they had endeavoured to deſtroy. And this, we are told, proves the good principles of the royaliſts of *La Vendee:* for Windham, in one of thoſe curious metaphyſical ſpeeches in which he frequently indulges himſelf, commenting, during the laſt ſeſſion, upon the treaty between the royaliſts of *La Vendee* and the republic, ſays, "It is very true theſe men have made their peace with the republic; and all ſeems in a degree to be reſtored to tranquility; but when I conſider the whole of the circumſtances," (perhaps he knew more of the whole of the circumſtances than we are informed of!) "I am ſure that I perceive a body of good principles ſtill exiſting in *La Vendee*, which may be turned to the advantage of the alliance!"

What then are the good principles of ariſtocracy violation of faith, perjury, injuſtice? Are theſe the good principles we are told to admire? And can the men who vent ſuch ſentiments in a popular aſſembly, expect any other than a growing conviction in the public mind that the principles which induce them to utter ſuch expreſſions, ought to be abhorred by all good men. If theſe are the champions of ariſtocracy, they will ſay, give me the pure plain principles of democrats, who think that faith ought to be ſacred, and ſolemn engagements ought not to be made for the purpoſe only of being violated.

But

But it is not only by the manner in which the war has been conducted, with reſpect to principle, that the democratic feeling has ſpread among us. Its ſucceſſes, ſo *glorious* and ſo *ſplendid*, and its expences, ſo *mild* and ſo *moderate*, have contributed in a ſtill greater degree to bring the conviction, that if we do not wiſh to be *levelled indeed*, in univerſal beggary, we muuſt appeal to thoſe democratic principles of our conſtitution which, if never violated, would have ſaved us from the miſchief, and which, if reſtored, will reſtore us once more to peace, plenty and glory.

Yes, Citizens, *John Bull* is rather a ſleepy animal it muſt be confeſſed. He has not all the mercury of our neighbours; but John Bull has two nerves of ſenſibility, yet remaining: one of which is conveyed, by proper meandrings, to his ſtomach, and the other to his pocket. Touch but the papillary nerves that open themſelves into either of theſe receptacles, and immediately the whole frame is ſeized with convulſive vibrations, and his exquiſite ſenſibility is delineated in every feature.

The Miniſter has been determined that theſe nerves ſhall not loſe their ſenſibility for want of being frequently ſtimulated. He has, therefore, taken good care to make frequent applications to the pocket; and, in the courſe of two campaigns, has expended ſeventy millions of money, while he is now crying aloud, if report may be believed, for thirty millions more.—Glorious conſequence of a war, begot by corruption, foſtered by the fears of ariſtocracy, and perſevered in to preſerve the ſacred rights of rotten boroughs, and prevent the ruins of Old Sarum from being overgrown with the moſs of political oblivion!

With reſpect to the ſtomach, the ſenſibility of that has been equally affected: for what with the ſtoppage of our external ſupplies, and the waſte of our internal produce, poor *John Bull* has been almoſt reduced to that ſituation in which the gaſtric juice preys upon its own receptacle for want of other employment.

This country ought, and, if well governed, would produce much more of all the neceſſaries of life than are required by the inhabitants. Yet, what with the impolitic regulations that are made, what with the neglect of cultivation, what with the waſteful extravagance of ſome, and the monopolizing arts of others, we find that it does not produce a quantity ſufficient for its maintenance.

I ſhall

I ſhall not now enter into a particular inveſtigation of the cauſes of this. Suffice it to ſay, that this being our ſituation, the meaſures adopted during the preſent war have tended in no ſmall degree to aggravate the evil. We ſuffered *Poland*, the granary of *Europe*, to be deſtroyed, to gratify the ambition of a man who, as ſoon as he had got poſſeſſion of the prize, abandoned thoſe who had been ſecretly parties to the infamous fraud. Corn has alſo been ſent out, from time to time, to ſupply foreign armies: as if every mouth were to be fed but the mouth of the Britiſh peaſant. Every mercenary ſoldier is ſupplied at the expence of *Britain*; and Britiſh produce is ſent away with an extravagance never heard of before. Witneſs, for example, even in the midſt of all the ſtarving miſery of the people—witneſs the immenſe ſtores ſent to ſupply the raſcally Emigrants at Quiberon: thoſe wretches, the authors of all the deſolations of their own country! the authors of all the calamities under which the nations of the world at this time groan! whoſe infamous deluſions, whoſe treachery, and whoſe barefaced profligacy would have prevented any admiſtration, but the preſent, from lending them that countenance which they have experienced! theſe beings, ſeventy thouſand of whom, like a flock of geeſe, fled from the very looks of the republicans! theſe were to be ſent back to conquer the country, whoſe glorious efforts have almoſt laid Europe proſtrate at its feet; and Britiſh gold, Britiſh ſtores, Britiſh ammunition, and Britiſh food was to be ſent to ſupport them; whatever might be the ſighs and groans, and anguiſh of thoſe *Britons*, who languiſhed in want of that which was thus wantonly thrown away.

Yes, Citizens, theſe were the men that were to be favoured. They were ariſtocrats. They were friends to the old *deſpotiſm of France*: and therefore, by the miniſters of the *free country of Britain*, certainly ought to be countenanced. If they were in miſery or misfortune, they were to receive their half guinea a week, out of the public purſe, and Mr. Pitt was to inſert in his budget, ſo much money applied to the diſtreſſed clergy and laity of *France*, while thouſands of induſtrious families were to ſubſiſt upon 7s. 8s. or leſs, the reward of intolerable drudgery for twelve or fourteen hours a day. But there are good reaſons for this. If you pamper thoſe without whoſe aſſiſtance you could not be pampered yourſelves, they will be ſaucy,

will

will think they have rights; and thus you will be precluded from the opportunity of ſwelling to unwieldy opulence by places and penſions; while thoſe who produce that opulence are in miſery and ſubjection.

Such is the ariſtocratic argument; but the plain truth is, the further you ſink them into ſubjection, the more they will be diſſatisfied; the more you compel them to a ſtate of ignorance, the more diſpoſed to violence: and if you are diſpoſed really to preſerve them in that ſubordination which the order of ſociety requires, reſtore them to their rights; let them feel that they are human beings, that you *love them as brethren*, not that you *laſh them as taskmaſters do their ſlaves*.

Citizens, at the very time that theſe emigrants were thus provided for, in the houſe of induſtry in the Iſle of Wight, which is boaſted of by topographers as the beſt regulated receptacle of charity throughout the country, ſo miſerable was the condition of thoſe who are there maintained at conſtant and hard labour, that the preſent maſter of that houſe, after having made repeated remonſtrances to the *Gentlemen* who hold the purſe of the iſland, upon the ſcanty manner in which they are provided for, has at laſt ſent into them his determination that, if they will not feed the poor better, he will not remain in his ſituation: for that he can no longer endure to hear *the cries of ſtarving children who call to him for bread which he is not permitted to give them*.

Yet the *Chouans* muſt be fed!—the *midnight murderers of Britany* muſt be provided with the neceſſaries and comforts of life!—the ſtores of this country muſt be exhauſted, and its proviſions ſent forth, that theſe *royaliſts*, theſe great ſupporters, theſe enlightened advocates for the cauſe of deſpotiſm may not be beaten down under the arm of republican freedom! and, at this very time, contracts are making in Ireland, to buy up *freſh ſtores and proviſions*, to ſend to the coaſt of France, to be conſumed in fooliſh expeditions in queſt of defeat and infamy: and ſo great is the exhauſtion, that ſalted proviſions being no longer to be obtained, they are buying up *live cattle* in Ireland to ſend upon this mad project.

Now I ſhould like to know how it is poſſible for the common people of this country to perceive that they are ſtarving for the ſupport of the cauſe of *ariſtocracy abroad*, without having their affections ſtrengthened for *democracy at*

at home. If they ſhould ſometimes in the wild extravagance of their imaginations, go farther than the infallible letter of the law preſcribes; if they ſhould ſometimes in their ſpeculations not even be ſatisfied with that democracy which the laws and conſtitution of the country ſay they ought to enjoy, can we blame them? Can we wonder, when thoſe who at preſent are trampling upon the conſtitution of which they call themſelves the ſupporters, if thoſe who have but little information ſhould draw this haſty concluſion:—*If this be the conſtitution of Britain, the Britiſh Conſtitution ought to be reverenced no more. We are for a conſtitution of equal rights, and general plenty; and not a conſtitution of ambition and ſtarvation!*

But one of the great cauſes of the increaſe of the democratic principle is the conduct of the preſent adminiſtration to the engines by which they ſeem to intend that their own power ſhould be ſupported: I mean the military.

Whoever is acquainted with the hiſtory of nations, muſt have obſerved, that it is the uniform practice of wicked miniſters, who aſpire to arbitrary dominion, in the firſt inſtance, to ſeek for the eſtabliſhment of a large military force. They know very well that two or three, five or ſix hundred individuals, whatever their rank, fortune, or ſituation, can never trample upon the liberties of mankind, unleſs mankind are weak enough to aſſiſt them in ſuch an attempt. This conviction is very ancient in this country: and there was a time when our anceſtors, jealous of the preſervation of their rights, took care that *the ſtrength and power of the country ſhould alſo be the ſtrength and power of its liberties.* They knew well, *laws made for the benefit of all, are beſt ſupported by putting arms in the hands of all*: and therefore by arming the great maſs and body of the people, they took care to put it out of the power of a few uſurpers to trample upon the liberties of Britons, and to eſtabliſh deſpotiſm in a country, the people of which, according to the wiſhes of ALFRED *ought ever to continue free as their own thoughts!*

The abhorrence of our anceſtors to ſtanding armies preſents itſelf to us in the works of every political writer. Among the reſt, *Swift* expreſſes himſelf in a letter to Pope in a very ſtrong manner—"I had likewiſe," ſays he, "in "thoſe days a mortal antipathy againſt ſtanding armies in "times of peace; becauſe I always took *ſtanding armies* to "be only *ſervants hired, by the maſter of a family, for keeping*

" *his own children in ſlavery*; and becauſe I conceived that " *a prince who could not think himſelf ſecure without mercenary* " *troops, muſt needs have a ſeparate intereſt from that of his* " *ſubjects:* although I am not ignorant of *thoſe artificial ne-* " *ceſſities, which a corrupt miniſter can create for keeping up* " *forces to ſupport a faction againſt the public intereſt.*"

Such, Citizens, were the ſentiments of *Swift*, and ſuch were the ſentiments of our anceſtors in general; ſuch were the ſentiments of ALFRED, when he eſtabliſhed that glorious inſtitution *a national militia:* an inſtitution, by means of which he was enabled to purge the country from thoſe depredators who had invaded it, and to lift it to a glory and happineſs which it never had known before.

Nay, Citizens, ſo anxious were our anceſtors for the eſtabliſhment of this militia; ſo anxious were they for excluding a ſtanding army, that ſeveral laws had been made to puniſh thoſe who neglect to have arms in their houſes, and to inſtruct both themſelves and families in the uſe of them. If you will read "*Pulton's* Reports" you will find (titles arms and archery) particular inſtruction who is bound to keep *pikes* in his houſe, who are to keep halberts, and who are obliged to have complete ſuits of armour. You will find that, in proportion to a man's property, he is obliged to keep a given quantity of arms; not that it was thought neceſſary to keep the common people unarmed, but the cheapér ſort of arms were aſſigned to the common people, becauſe the common people could not procure thoſe of the moſt expenſive nature.

You will find, alſo, proviſions made by thoſe ancient laws to puniſh perſons who, keeping journeymen in their houſes, have neglected to have them trained to the uſe and exerciſe of arms; and that every father of a family is puniſhable, by thoſe ancient laws, if he neglects to inſtruct his children from the age of ſeven years to ſixteen in the uſe of the long bow, and other implements, made uſe of in thoſe days. Yet the pretended advocates for the laws and conſtitution of this country, make it a crime for any perſon to have a *pike* found in his houſe. Nay, they have even attempted to make it High Treaſon for any man to have known a man, who had ever ſpoken to another man, who ever had been in company with a fourth man, who had a pike found in his houſe, or any implements of defence whatever.

But,

But, Citizens. theſe men may perhaps tell you, and perhaps ſome part of their conduct would ſupport the pretence, that they are ignorant of the laws of the country; but, unfortunately, they have themſelves been the formers and ſuporters of the propriety of every man being armed. If we recur to a very curious pamphlet written by Lord *Hawkeſbury*, we ſhall find that he moſt ſtrenuouſly recommends, as a conſtitutional and neceſſary meaſure, every individual providing himſelf with arms: that he might be able to repel every enemy by whom the country might be invaded; and even *Pitt* himſelf, in recent times, could not help acknowledging the excellency of a *national militia*; but let it ſlip over his tongue in a debate in the Houſe of Commons, that it is impoſſible to ſubdue an armed nation —a very pretty argument this, to perſuade the houſe to continue a war againſt the armed nation of *France*.

But amongſt the moſt anxious and zealous defenders of this ſyſtem, is to be reckoned the Duke of *Richmond*. His grace, while out of place, is very well known to have held correſpondence with an armed convention: a convention of volunteers in Ireland. He is very well known alſo, to have commended the plan upon which thoſe volunteers were proceeding; and to have ſupported their meaſures with all the might of his eloquence. But his conduct was even ſtill more explicit upon the occaſion which he had of delivering his ſentiments in the corporation of *Chicheſter*.

" Gentlemen," ſaid he,—if I may take the hiſtorian's liberty of putting his ſentiments into my own language— " let every man get arms; let every man learn the uſe of " arms. It is only by recurring to the old inſtitutions of " *Alfred*—it is only by putting arms into the hands of every " individual that we can ſupport our liberties againſt the " arts, intrigues, and corruptions of a miniſter, who " would wiſh to trample under foot the rights and liber- " ties of Britons—get arms, Gentlemen, therefore; get " arms, that you may ſave yourſelves the neceſſity of an " immenſe ſtanding army. Reſiſt with all your might a " ſyſtem ſo diabolical, for, if once you ſuffer a ſtanding " army in the country, the liberties of Britain are gone " for ever; nor will it be in the power of all the patriots " in whom you may confide, to ſnatch you from the deſ- " potiſm which a ſtanding army muſt inevitably produce "

Yet,

Yet, Citizens, when the Duke of *Richmond* was Maſter of the Ordnance, he found how *neceſſary* it was to fortify, by ſtanding armies, the power which he and his friends had gotten: and when a member of the ſame corporation not quite ſo verſatile, ſome time ago propoſed that the citizens at Chicheſter ſhould be armed, he writes a letter to that corporation, to inform the membefs of it that "the indivi-"dual who could ſupport ſuch a meaſure was an enemy "to his king and conſtitution."

"Arm all the citizens," he might be conceived to ſay, "no, you muſt only arm thoſe few we can depend upon: "whoſe principles we are acquainted with: and whoſe "*loyal attachment to penſioners and placemen, and rotten borough-*"*mongers* can be depended on, if thoſe penſioners, place-"men, and rotten borough-mongers ſhould call for their "exertions, to ſilence the voice of reform, which I my-"ſelf taught to be loquacious, and to cruſh the riſing "ſpirit of that freedom which, however proper when I "was *out of place*, is certainly high treaſon, now that I "am in."

This Duke of *Richmond* was once a flaming WHIG. But we have found that there is one point, at leaſt, upon which WHIGS and *Tories* unanimouſly agree: namely, that every meaſure by which they can help themſelves into power is legal and conſtitutional; and that every meaſure that in the leaſt threatens to ouſt them is *Treaſon*. There is, alſo, notwithſtanding all appearances to the contrary, a very great degree of conſiſtency in the language and ſentiments of the preſent adminiſtration. You will find that they have, always, been advocates for ancient ſyſtems: but then, when out of place, their attachment was to the ancient ſyſtem of *Britiſh liberty*; and now, when they are in place, their attachment is to the ancient ſyſtem of *French deſpotiſm*.

Yes Citizens, the old French ſyſtem is a very great object of attachment among our preſent Miniſters; and they have been anxious to imitate, as far as poſſible, all its practices.

It is *High Treaſon* to imitate even the language of French liberty; but it is perfectly conſtitutional to imitate, not only the language, but the practices of French tyranny. Whence came the ſyſtem of ſpies? Did it not come from the old deſpotiſm of France? Is it a practice congenial with the open character of Britons? Is it a practice con-

ſiſtent

ſiſtent with liberty, and with that ſocial harmony which a free conſtitution ought to ſupport?—Whence, alſo, comes your *police?* eſtabliſhed, it is true, under pretence of keeping the peace, but in reality, I believe, for the expreſs purpoſe of organizing the ſyſtem of ſpies and informers, who invaded the peace of all their fellow citizens; and providing rewards and eſtabliſhments for thoſe whoſe perjuries in Courts of Juſtice have vainly aimed at the life of innocent individuals! Come not both the inſtitution and its name from the ancient deſpotiſm of France? To this I might add the liſt of proſcriptions—the black books kept by the Reevite aſſociators: in which every man's ſuppoſed opinion ſtands recorded! The moſt important imitation, however, is the adoption of *ſtanding armies:* It may not be amiſs to obſerve the exact conformity between practices among us and thoſe which were adopted in *France*, when *Louis XIV.* eſtabliſhed ſtanding armies to ſupport his growing deſpotiſm.

It was well known by that crafty monarch, that the deſpotic power he aimed at could not be ſupported without an immenſe military force; an immenſe military force was therefore determined upon. But ſay ſome of his counſellors, "*May not the very power you raiſe to ſupport your deſpotiſm* "*turn their ſwords againſt you and overthrow it?* How are we "to avoid this inconvenience, for *the army which is formida-* "*ble to the people, is formidable alſo to the monarch whenever* "*they chuſe to be ſo.* And the *Janizaries* who over-awe the "ſlaves of Conſtantinople, hurl occaſionally the ſublime "Sultan from his throne. O," "ſay others, "we will "find a remedy for that; we will ſow hatred and diſſention "in the centre of the army; and one claſs of ſoldiers ſhall "burn with rancour and animoſity againſt the other."

To execute this deſign ſongs were diſperſed among them written for the purpoſe of exciting mutual jealouſies. Some for the *infantry*, ſome for the *cavalry*, ſome to one claſs, ſome to another.

This trick ſucceeded pretty well for the court. But what were the effects to the country? The army of France being thus diſunited, and being excited by mutual averſion, were never able to ſtand againſt the armies of thoſe countries in which union and mutual affection prevailed. This was one of the cauſes why the glory of Britain ſhone in ancient times ſo conſpicuous when oppoſed to the military machines of enſlaved France. This was one of the

cauſes

cauſes why a nation abounding in ſo much gallant ſpirit, made ſo poor a figure, comparatively ſpeaking.

But ſince this ſyſtem of dragoon hating infantry, and infantry hating dragoon, has been baniſhed from *France*,—ſince they have been fired by one hope and expectation, mark the enthuſiaſm with which they have ſwept every thing before them. Appeal to thoſe gallant ſoldiers who have experienced their efforts for the character of thoſe Frenchmen, who, inſpired by unanimity, have become vindicators of rights and liberty!—they will tell you that courage and magnanimity have gone hand in hand, and diſplayed a conduct the very reverſe of that which the prejudices of this country have led us to expect among them.

A ſimilar object in this country has been purſued by meaſures, in ſome degree different. It is not by ſongs, for we are neither a ſinging nor a dancing nation, that thoſe who wiſh to make all ſoldiers ſlaves have endeavoured to excite one part of the ſoldiery againſt the other; no they have found another way of doing it. They have divided the army into a vaſt number of diſtinctions, *dragoons*, *militias*, *infantry*, *cavalry*, *yeomanry*, and *voluntary aſſociations*: and the moſt ſucceſsful attempts have been made to prevent any degree of affection from exiſting between theſe different bodies. The *eſprit de corps*, ſo unhappily prevalent among all claſſes of men, renders it eaſy to excite animoſities; and a variety of arts are made uſe of, to keep up this animoſity; ſo that they may be fit engines for the vengeance thus to be executed.

I ſhall give you an inſtance of this. A mutiny took place in one of the camps no very conſiderable time ago. The guards had been mutinous; and their officers found ſome part of their claims ſo juſt, and the men ſo obſtinate, that they were obliged to pay ſome degree of attention to them. After having promiſed them the redreſs which they demanded, it is very confidently reported that this ſort of ſpeech was made to them: "Gentlemen, I know how "theſe diſpoſitions have grown up among you. You have "been talking to the *militia*. They have ſown the ſeeds of "diſcontent among you! Gentlemen, why will you con-"deſcend to talk with the militia? Are not you *Gentlemen* "*Guards*? Are not you the defenders of his *Majeſty's perſon*? "You ſhould diſdain to diſgrace yourſelves by holding con-"verſation with *militia men;* a company much too mean

"for

" for you: and therefore you ought to be above it; and to
" keep yourſelves from the contamination of them.

" Gentlemen, if I were to meet with any of the *militia*,
" I ſhould think myſelf diſgraced if I ſat down with them.
" I would adviſe you to preſerve the dignity of your ſitua-
" tion; and depend upon it you will receive the favours con-
" ſiſtent with ſuch conduct!"

Now, Citizens, if this language was in reality held, I aſk you what ſort of principle, what ſort of juſtice and propriety could there poſſibly be in it? What, ſhall ſoldiers be ſet againſt ſoldiers? Shall guards be ſet againſt militia-men, and militia-men againſt fencibles? Shall fencible be ſet againſt dragoon, and dragoon againſt fencible? If this is the caſe, ſay what degree of ſafety and protection muſt you expect, if the time ever ſhould arrive when your wives and your children are to be protected from the ſword of foreign hoſtility.

Citizens, to me it appears that it would have been much more proper to addreſs the ſoldiery of Britain in this manner.

" Citizen ſoldiers, never forget that you are men enliſted
" not to ſupport the authority of a few particular individuals,
" but to protect the rights, liberty and property of the coun-
" try. If you have complaints ſubmit them in a peaceable
" manner to thoſe who ſhould take cognizance of thoſe com-
" plaints. Indulge not a mutinous ſpirit, by which the liber-
" ties and peace of the country may be diſturbed, by which
" part of you may be ſubmitted to the cruel neceſſity of ope-
" rating againſt another; but cultivate the feelings of affec-
" tion between man and man. Let *Dragoons* remember they
" are bound to love the *infantry*, who are the main ſtrength
" of an army; let the *infantry* remember that they are bound
" to love that *cavalry* which is to co-operate with them, and
" without whoſe aſſiſtance they muſt be often impotent, and
" inadequate to the protection of their country. Let both
" remember they are to love the *militia*, the conſtitutional
" guardians of the ſacred rights of Britons. Let the *militia-*
" *men*, alſo, remember that they ought to love the other
" members of the army; becauſe they are to co-operate with
" them for the ſame great object. Remember, alſo, that the
" name of *fencible corps*, or whatever names may be given to
" particular men, alter not their nature. That every man is
" the brother of every man; and that upon the great princi-
" ple of fraternity you are to act according to the ſpirit of
" juſtice, of liberty, and true military diſcipline, in preſerv-

ing

" ing the peace and protecting the happineſs of your fellow " Citizens, that you may return, loved and crowned with " civic wreathes, to your wives and families, who ſhall bleſs " you for tranſmitting the liberties of your anceſtors to them and their poſterity."

" Citizen ſoldiers, as you are men you ought to love mankind. As you are Britons you ought to cheriſh Britiſh " liberty. As you are ſoldiers of a free nation you ought to " be jealous of freedom. One ſoul alone ought to actuate " you. One object you ſhould have continually in view— " the freedom and happineſs of your country. Not the aggrandizement of a faction to whom you were never meant " to be tools, but the protection of the juſt rights, the juſt " liberties and real happineſs of thoſe, whom if you are once " made the inſtruments to enſlave, you do, but forge fetters " for yourſelves more intolerable than thoſe you confer upon " your brethren, whom you ought not to ceaſe to love, be- " cauſe they do not wear a coat of the ſame complexion with " your own."

But it is lamentable to obſerve how ſucceſsfully the language moſt oppoſite to this has been upheld. Every one who is at all acquainted with the military can inform you that the *militia* envy the *feneibles* for their ſuppoſed privileges and advantages; that the *fencibles* arrogate a ſuperiority to the *militia*; that the *volunteers* diſdain the *regulars*, whom they conſider as a parcel of low inferior beings; and that the *regulars*, on the other hand, have contracted an inveterate hatred againſt the *volunteer aſſociations*, whom they conſider as tools of men of power and fortune aſſociated againſt the liberty and happineſs of the lower orders of the community.

I ſpeak not this lightly. I have poſitive information of this being the caſe in parts of the country—Particularly, that this ſort of language was held ſo continually by one of the regiments returned from the Continent, and quartered at *Chichester*, that it was found neceſſary to remove them from that place, leſt maſſacres ſhould take place between them and the gentlemen aſſociators of that neighbourhood. The very words, " Damn the ſcoundrels that aſſociate againſt their own poor," were repeated from company to company, and from man to man, till they quivered upon every lip.

What then may not be the dreadful conſequence of attempting to ſow theſe diviſions, ſo deſtructive of all peaceful order, all reſpect both for laws and military diſcipline, without which

which an army become, inſtead of defenders, the depredators and deſtroyers of their country.

Theſe ſoldiers certainly inſpired a conſiderable degree of panic and terror among the volunteers. Reſignations were very common; or notices for reſignations. Stories were told about theſe gentlemen ſoldiers, and the ſituation into which they were ſometimes thrown, in conſequence of this terror, are too ridiculous to mention in the preſent company. Suffice it to ſay, the dreaded regiment was again ſent to the Continent, not only on this account, but becauſe many of them were found diffuſing democratic principles—principles, let me add, which the whole of this ſyſtem has tended to ſpread very widely among the ſoldiery; and which all the attempts to ſuppreſs them, do but increaſe to greater obſtinacy.

Nay, thoſe very men who were enliſted and ſent to the Continent, to deſtroy democracy abroad, have brought home a huge cargo of it into *England*, much to the alarm and terror of their rulers; and, therefore, they have moſt of them been ſent back to the Continent, to ſupport the cauſe for which they were known to have ſuch an inveterate hatred.

I confeſs I have not myſelf converſed with the ſoldiery. I have taken my reports reſpecting them, from thoſe on whoſe veracity I could confide: becauſe I do not chooſe to have it ſaid of me, however unjuſtly, that I tamper with the ſoldiery. I wiſh not to draw them from their allegiance to the King, but I wiſh them to know that they alſo owe an allegiance to the people whom they ſerve, part of whom they are, and with whoſe happineſs their own proſperity is connected. But all the perſons I have met with, who have by accident fallen in with the fragments (and ſcanty fragments in general they were) of regiments that returned from the Continent, have uniformly borne teſtimony to the good character which the Britiſh ſoldiery are generous enough to give to the French; whom they have declared, in open ſhops and public houſes, were the only friends they met with upon the Continent. They were ill uſed, they ſay, by the *Dutch*; they were ill uſed by the *Auſtrians*; they were ill uſed by all the foreign troops with whom they expected to co-operate; and *their enemies*, the French, were the only men from whom they received any kindneſs or humanity. It is therefore, Citizens, that the greater part of theſe regiments, or fragments of regiments, are ſent back to that Continent, from whence they were ſo lately withdrawn, or elſe diſpatched to the *Weſt Indies*, leſt their Jacobinical doctrines ſhould ſpread at home.

This policy has been pretty ſyſtematically purſued. Whenever it was found that any regiment poſſeſſed democratical principles, that regiment was immediately hurried out of the country. This was particularly the caſe with the *Scotch Greys*; who were found many of them reading *Paine's* "Rights of Man." They were, therefore, ſent to the Continent: and I believe we ſhall not hear of the opinions of the *Scotch Greys* now.

But what has been the conſequences of all this? Diſaſtrous defeat! When men are ſent to ſupport a cauſe they do not approve, will they fight with enthuſiaſm in ſupport of it? No, if you want enthuſiaſm among the military, it is by a different mode of conduct that you muſt endeavour to inſpire it. It is not by perſecuting them for opinions, it is not by making reading a crime among them, and ignorance the ſupreme virtue. No, it is by kind treatment; by juſtice and humanity—by giving them a real intereſt in the cauſe they are to ſupport—In ſhort, it is by mingling the proud independence of the citizen with the diſcipline of the ſoldier that the feelings of the hero can alone be inſpired, and the exploits of real glory can be produced.

Yet ſo blind are our rulers to this truth, that I have certain information that ſome poor ſoldiers in the tower were threatened with all the ſeverities of what is called military diſcipline, for having ſubſcribed to take in the *Gazetteer*. The monſtrous crime was diſcovered, and the alarm was inſtantly taken—"What, ſoldiers dare to read an oppoſition "paper? Soldiers dare to look into any thing that ſhall find "fault with any of his Majeſty's Miniſters? Military ſubor-"dination could never endure it!" The poor men were obliged to relinquiſh their literary banquet; and ſome of them were threatened with black holes and bread and water.

But a ſtronger circumſtance is yet to be mentioned. One *Archibald Ewing*, who was a *Scotch Fencible*, was found to be very fond of reading. I don't know how it came into the minds of the officers, that it was impoſſible for a man to enquire, but he muſt become a democrat; but they immediately began to ſuſpect that he was no friend to preſent meaſures. On the *King's birth-day*, therefore, as they were marching from one part of Scotland to another, the officers determined to put this man to the teſt. They had the ſoldiers ſeated in rings and gave them whiſkey to drink his Majeſty's health. The officer however of the corps did not think it enough to give the King's health alone, but coupled with it a very

a very curious ſentiment, "*The King, and damnation to the* "*French, and the friends of the people!*" *Ewing* did not, however, chooſe to drink damnation to the friends of the people; becauſe he thought the people had as much right to have their friends as the King had to have his. Add to which that *Ewing* was a religious man, and did not think it ſuch a mighty crime to be a friend to the people, that he ought to wiſh any man in eternal torments on that account. In ſhort, he was a ſoldier, not a prieſt, and did not deal in anathemas; nor would he damn any body: and as they had given the toaſt in that manner, he refuſed to drink it at all.

For this crime, which was deemed mutiny, he was immediately, according to the lenient practices of that humane part of the country, put into confinement. He was chained upright, with fetters round his ancles and a collar round his neck, for ſome days, till he was tried by a Court Martial. There is a citizen preſent who can authenticate this if neceſſary. He was then condemned to receive five hundred laſhes; but repeated aſſurances were given him that he ſhould be pardoned, if he would declare that he was not "a friend to the people;" which he refuſed. Some of the townsfolks hearing of the manner in which he was treated, took him ſome food and other neceſſaries. But the humane magiſtrates of Scotland, being informed of theſe facts, prohibited any perſon, upon the pains and penalties of *law*, from giving him any aſſiſtance. So that bread and water would have been his only fare, for ſeveral days, if he had not been generouſly relieved by a fellow ſoldier. His obſtinate virtue continued inflexible, a hundred laſhes were humanely abated, and four hundred only laid upon his naked back; after which he was turned out of the regiment.

Now, Citizens, I will aſk you, *Is it likely that ſoldiers ſhould be otherwiſe than democratic, while they receive ſuch treatment?* I will aſk you if this is the proper manner to procure the vindication of our laws and the protection of our country? I will aſk you whether, on the contrary, the proper way of attacking the ſoldiery is not to encourage, by proper rewards, inſtead of urging on by ſtripes and puniſhments?

Yes, Citizens, it is by reward and encouragements that you are to expect to rouſe the valour of the Britiſh ſoldiery: and if you will give them proper pay, inſtead of exhauſting all the reſources of the country upon corruption, and treat them honourably and kindly, you will have little reaſon to find fault with human beings, for not having enthuſiaſm enough

enough in their attachment to their country; and not being ſufficiently willing to expoſe themſelves in the field of glory.

Give them, then, but the *rights of man*, to animate their courage, and you will ſtill find your ſoldiery what they were once eſteemed, invincible in the field and unequalled in generous exertions in the cauſe of liberty.

Citizens, I find it totally impoſſible, at this time of night, to enter upon the remaining and moſt important branch of this ſubject:—namely, the conduct of crimps and preſſgangs. But before we part I will ſlightly mention a circumſtance of a very extraordinary nature, and which has occupied a great deal of my attention to-day, and, in ſome degree, prevented me from preparing myſelf as I could have wiſhed on ſuch a topic. I have received documents tending to prove that this boy (*introducing a lad of twelve years old into the Tribune*) has been moſt barbarouſly crimped. I have received from the friends of this lad, and from his own mouth, circumſtances which, if I can properly authenticate, I ſhall ſubmit to your conſideration on Wedneſday evening. This lad—look at him!—ſee what a ſoldier-like appearance he has; and reflect how proper it is to trepan and ſteal ſuch poor boys from the arms of their friends and relatives, and prematurely to ſhed their infant blood, in a ſtruggle which it is impoſſible they ſhould underſtand, or have an intereſt in. I will not ſtate to you—neither time nor other circumſtances will now permit—the particulars contained in this letter, which after his eſcape he wrote from *Northampton*, to his only friend and relative in London. I will not now ſtate the variety of circumſtances which theſe papers unfold. It is neceſſary, in order that I may preſerve, even from *ſuſpicion* of credulity or impoſture, the dignity of my ſituation, to make ſuch enquiries as to eradicate every poſſibility of doubt upon the ſubject. If I can ſubſtantiate the ſtory, I ſhall unfold to you a ſcene of criminality ſo abominable, proceedings ſo horrid and flagitious, that if they do not immediately have redreſs, will bring a ſtrong conviction to the breaſt of every man, that *in this country there is no longer protection for innocence, nor law for the friendleſs and poor!*

THE TRIBUNE. N°. XXVII.

Report on the STATE OF POPULAR OPINION, *and Cauſes of the* Increaſe *of* DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES. *Part the Fourth. Including animadverſions on the* CRUELTIES *and* MURDERS *committed by* CRIMPS *and* PRESS-GANGS. *Delivered at the Lecture Room, Beaufort Buildings, Strand, September 16th,* 1795.

CITIZENS,

I Shall now reſume, where I dropped it on Friday evening, the ſubject of the treatment of the *Britiſh ſoldiery*, and the tendency that treatment muſt inevitably have to diffuſe a ſpirit of democracy through that rank of people from which the ſoldiery are taken.

There is an author, whom I have had frequently occaſion to quote, not from any admiration of his morals, but becauſe he ſeems to be the great text book of all the miniſters of all the *regular* and *orderly* governments of *civilized* Europe. The name of this author is *Machiavel*; who, treating of the means by which the power of Princes is to be upheld, tells us that the two great requiſites are "good laws and good arms." With reſpect to good laws, *Machiavel* does not ſay much: for, as he is inſtructing perſons how they may become great deſpots, or the deſpotic miniſters of great deſpots, he was more ſolicitous about arms than laws; and gives to underſtand, that "whenever you can have good arms, there the laws, per force, muſt be good alſo"—that is, they muſt be of that deſcription which nobody can very ſafely find fault with.

Citizens, this *Machiavel*, who I am inclined to think was rather diſpoſed to ſatirize the ſyſtem he pretends to uphold, enters at large into the mode by which good arms are to be procured and ſupported: and goes into a deſcription of what are, and what are not good arms. In this part of his enquiry there are many

things well worth the attention of the miniſters of this or any other country; but which, upon that very account, perhaps, ſeem to be paſſed over in neglect. For inſtance, confederates, allies, auxiliaries, and mercenaries, he ſays, never can be good arms; good arms are thoſe which are borne and exerciſed by the natives of the country, for the protection of which they are to be employed, and from them only can any conſiderable advantage be expected.

Upon this topic I have already enlarged to a conſiderable degree (Tribune No. 20 and 21.) I ſhall not, therefore, dwell upon it particularly at this time. It is more important that I ſhould turn to another part of this diſcuſſion. There is one obſervation he makes which is particularly valuable.

Machiavel ſeems to have been very well convinced, that in order to have good arms, that is to ſay, to have an effective ſoldiery, able and *willing* to ſupport your glory, and carry your projects into effect, numbers and diſcipline are not the only requiſites; that you may have a very numerous army, and yet be very much diſgraced and degraded;—that you may have a very well diſciplined army, and yet the diſcipline of this army be fatal only to its employers; and he conſiders, therefore, that the great object of all is the attachment of the ſoldiery to the cauſe they are to ſupport, and to the Prince whoſe glory they are to promote.

Citizens, we need not have raked the muſty aſhes of antiquity to have diſcovered a maxim ſo plain and ſelf evident.

If we wiſh to be well protected by a gallant ſoldiery we muſt take care that our ſoldiery are zealouſly attached to our cauſe; and as the means to produce this effect, we muſt merit, by our treatment of them, the attachment of thoſe whom we expect to ſhed their blood in our defence, and to run all dangers, perils, and hardſhips for the promotion of our happineſs and our glory!

Now, how is this attachment to be ſecured? It is very evident, if we conſider the ſituation of ſociety at preſent, that attachment is not now to be obtained in that eaſy way in which it ſeems to have been acquired in former times. Feudal rights and feudal attachment have happily, in a great degree, been ſwept away; and we hear no more, except now and then from ſome ſuperannuated bigot to the old ſyſtem, of the duty and principle of inviolable

liable attachment to the leader, upon whoſe eſtate you happened to be born; and by whom you have had the honour to be treated, ever ſince your birth, as a ſlave or beaſt of burden. The chieftains adhering to the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter* might indeed diſplay their banners in the air, and be immediately followed by all their tenantry and vaſſals capable of bearing arms; and thus we might have hoſt embattled againſt hoſt, one half of the nation ſeeking the deſtruction of the other, with the moſt rancorous avidity, without either being capable of explaining the reaſon why they had drawn the falchion from its ſcabbard, and left their fields untilled, to make widows and orphans of their mourning wives and children.

Even in the time of *James* the firſt, a conſiderable degree of this ſuperſtitious veneration and attachment to certain families and individuals, merely on account of the high ſituation in which they were placed, ſeems to have remained; and we have inſtances in hiſtory of the moſt enormous fines, and even corporal puniſhments, chains and impriſonment being inflicted upon the baſe born plebian croud, for having inſulted, by word or look, the ſacred dignity of thoſe who are decorated with ſtars and garters, and ſtrut four or five times a year, perhaps, in an old red cloak, bedaubed with gold and ermine.

But the progreſs of enlightened intellect tended, in a conſiderable degree, to do away this ridiculous and fooliſh impreſſion. We find it conſiderably weakened even at the period I have juſt been ſpeaking of, and ſtill more ſo before the end of that reign. In the revolution in 1649 every thing that remained of it was ſwept, at once, away. The ſuperſtitious veneration that had formerly been paid to birth and titles, fled before the ſudden burſt of reaſon, and was entirely deſtroyed. For a conſiderable time even the trappings and badges of this ſuperſtition were aboliſhed: and though titles, rank, birth, and diſtinction, were afterwards *formally* revived at the reſtoration; yet there was no power in human caprice, nor human tyranny, to reſtore the ſervile adulation with which thoſe circumſtances were formerly contemplated by the people. My Lord and his Grace the Duke had been ſtripped of their gaudy titles, for a while—had been reduced to the plain humble level of citizens, and had been exhibited to mankind unſophiſticated by the ornaments of a Court, and proved to be only of the ſame claſs and deſcription of beings with thoſe whom they had before looked down upon with

ſupercilious inſolence, and who had bowed down to their foot-ſtools with ſo much ill-placed veneration. This diſcovery having once been made, it was impoſſible for the people to get rid of the conviction that *Lords* and *Graces* and *Dukes* were nothing more than men: for as *Thomas Paine* has recently obſerved, in that treaſonable and ſeditious book which I hope none of you have read, "it is impoſſible to compel a ſet of beings to unknow their knowledge or unthink their thoughts."

That this permanent effect was produced by the temporary revolution of 1649 ſeems to be univerſally acknowledged: at leaſt, that the change has taken place is univerſally admitted; though I do not find that the change has ever yet been traced to its real cauſe. *Hume* himſelf, the advocate of approaching deſpotiſm, is obliged to acknowledge, in his eſſay on the Britiſh Government, that mankind are now no longer held in chains, by a ſuperſtitious veneration to mere forms and trappings; and he obſerves, that even thoſe things, which, in former times, claimed the utmoſt veneration of mankind, ſeemed to ſink into oblivion, from the perſevering reaſon and enquiry that mankind have directed towards them. "Moſt "people in this iſland," ſays he," have diveſted themſelves "of all ſuperſtitious reverence to names and authority: The "clergy have much loſt their credit: Their pretenſions and "doctrines have been ridiculed; and even religion can ſcarce "ſupport itſelf in the world."

Well then, Citizens, this ancient foundation for the attachment of one claſs of people to another has been done away. Ill-placed veneration from accidental circumſtances exiſts no more. Men beginning to venerate each other (to a certain degree, at leaſt, though not quite ſo much as I could wiſh) on account of the good qualities they may poſſeſs, and the activity with which they may employ thoſe good qualities for the welfare and happineſs of mankind. How then are thoſe perſons in power and authority to command the attachment which was formerly bequeathed to them from the accidents of their birth. It is certainly neceſſary, ſome how or other, to ſecure the attachment of the people—No, pardon me; not of the *people*; but of the *large ſtanding armies* by which the people, in caſe of neceſſity, may be dragoon'd, and to render them ſubſervient to the will of thoſe who created them.

There muſt be ſome means, I ſay, to attach this ſoldiery to the ſyſtem they are hired to ſupport; for it is not to be for-

gotten,

gotten, that the ſame power which is formidable to the oppreſſed, is, alſo, formidable to the oppreſſor himſelf; and that the *Janiſſaries*, who keep the poor trembling Turks in awe, ſometimes hurl the haughty Sultan from his throne, and place the captain of their own banditti; or ſome other more favoured robber in his ſtead.

A ſtanding army then, inſtead of being a defence, is in reality a great danger to the Prince or Miniſter who employs it; unleſs ſome particular means be deviſed by which the attachment of that army can be ſecured. What are the means by which this attachment is to be ſought? Will the ſcanty pittance of *ſixpence per day* attach any reaſonable being to particular individuals, who, while ſwelling to inordinate wealth by their own penſions and places, ſtill forget the ſoldier that bleeds in the field, or languiſhes in the camp, to promote their power and glory? Will puniſhment for reading and enquiry (inſtances of which I gave you on the former evening) attach a ſoldiery to the cauſe they are meant to ſupport? On the contrary, will not the plaineſt capacity immediately perceive that they, who dread enquiry, have a lurking conviction at their hearts that they are wrong; and that the cauſe muſt be a bad one, which will totter to its foundation as ſoon as argument and enquiry are brought into the field to examine its merits or defects?

Puniſhment and hard treatment win not the affection of mankind: nor can ſtripes and blows, ſcanty fare and ſcanty pay, allure their attachment to thoſe from whom they receive ſuch treatment. It is only by honourable reward and encouragement, by raiſing the ſoul to a conſciouſneſs of its own ſtrength and dignity, that the hearts of a generous race of men are to be won. If you will, therefore, reward, as you ought, the gallant heroes who fight your battles; if you will encourage, with proper ſubſiſtence and proper endearments, thoſe who ſtand foremoſt for your defence—you will need no *crimps* to fill your armies—no *cat-of-nine-tails* to maintain diſcipline.

Thus might cruelty and ſeverity be for ever baniſhed; for, however pretended philoſophers and the hired agents of corruption may attempt to deceive you, *it is not the nature of man to be ſupine.* When men are properly ſtimulated, by generous treatment, there is more danger that they ſhould have too much activity and enthuſiaſm, than that they ſhould be too backward to run the career of glory, or to vindicate the cauſe of their country. And, if we look through the annals of mankind,

mankind, we ſhall find, that wherever this generous treatment has been attended to, enthuſiaſtic raſhneſs, and not cowardice, has marked the character of thoſe who were entruſted with the vindication of a nation's honor.

Citizens, I refer you to the affairs of *France* for proof of this. It was a common obſervation, before the revolution in that country, that *no nation produced better officers than the French*, but that *the common ſoldiery could never be kept to their duty*. But the common ſoldiery of *France*, were at that time, *a herd of military machines*, whoſe duty was to *protect the drivers of a race of ſlaves*. It was, therefore, that they felt no common cauſe, and no enthuſiaſm; while the officers, who were treated with particular marks of honour and diſtinction, diſplayed a gallantry of ſpirit, which, from the natural ſituation and many advantages of that country, muſt always diſtinguiſh its inhabitants; unleſs there be ſomething ſuperlatively iniquitous in its government counteracting the influence which thoſe cauſes would otherwiſe produce.

See them now! Is it the ſoldiery of whom the convention of *France* have had any occaſion to complain? Have they been ſlack and tardy in vindicating the honours and liberties of their country? No,—warmed with the cheering notes of EQUALITY, enraptured with the flattering conviction that *by being ſoldiers they did not loſe the dignity of citizens*, breaſt deep in ſnow, they have marched to encounter the enemies of Gallic liberty, ſinging the ſongs of victory as they marched; and, if the accounts were true, with which we were peſtered in the miniſterial prints of the nakedneſs and forlorn condition of theſe troops, at the beginning of the war, we have indeed, reaſon to wonder at the effects of kind treatment—the *endearing rewards*, the "*honourable mention*," and the like, which converted a race of men whom formerly we deſpiſed as ſlaves and cowards, into a generation of heroes, who thundered at *Jemappe*, and ſhook the tyrants of *Europe* on their diſtant thrones.

Citizens, it is not my buſineſs to diſguiſe any part of the truth: and as *this country, according to its original conſtitution, is a popular government*—as the real conſtitution—that I mean which we are ſo proud of having been eſtabliſhed by our anceſtors, (*not Mr. Pitt's conſtitution of rotten boroughs!*) is, in fact, a democracy tempered and *ſeaſoned* with a mixture of ariſtocracy, but which was never meant to be robbed of that popular nature which conſtitutes its nerve and energy, I ſhall not be afraid of ſpies when I ſay that this circumſtance—this fair

and

and honourable treatment of the ſoldiery has always particularly diſtinguiſhed popular governments; and it is natural enough that the ſoldiery, having been convinced of this truth during their reſidence upon the continent, ſhould have returned to this country, with a conſiderable ſeaſoning of democratic ſpirit in their minds; and that inſtead of having cruſhed the hydra of popular government abroad, they had brought back an attachment to the revival of that government at home.

One might imagine, as it ſeems impoſſible for thoſe who have the adminiſtration of the government to be blind to this —one might imagine that, even from common ſenſe, even from the ſelfiſh deſign of ſupporting their own power, they would have thought of extending more kindneſs and liberality towards thoſe whom they wiſh to be the ſupporters of their power. But this is very far from being the caſe: a variety of meaſures hitherto, at leaſt in their preſent extent, never heard of in this country before, have been adopted, as if on purpoſe to diſguſt thoſe men to whoſe ſupport one would think, by other meaſures, they wiſhed particularly to look.

But inconſiſtency is never to be wondered at among ſelfiſh individuals; there is but one ſource of conſiſtency; and that is the pure generous ſpirit of benevolence, the animating love of all mankind, which directs us to promote the general intereſt, and loſe ſight of the particular. Men warmed by ſuch a ſentiment may preſerve a ſteady conſiſtency; becauſe they act from reaſon; from deep felt conviction; from ſerious meditation and a ſettled plan. But they who ſeek only their own power, grandeur and emolument, are always inconſiſtent, becauſe the paſſions which are their ſole guides are ever capricious and inconſtant; and that which may gratify one purſuit of ambition or vanity, may be hoſtile to another, on which in another hour perhaps they would fix their attention with ſtill more ſteadineſs and avidity. Nay, perhaps, having been ſo long in the habit of politically governing mankind by faction, diviſion, and diſſention—keeping up to the old maxim "divide and conquer," it may have become, as it were, a ſyſtematic part of their exiſtence, ſo that they cannot help acting upon it: ſo that they proceed, in fact, inſtinctively.—or as Shakeſpeare would expreſs it, by "a divine "thruſting on" on the principle of diviſion, and are hence diſpoſed *to keep a divided army in awe*, rather than to ſeek its unanimous love and affection, by generous treatment, integrity, and honeſt liberality.

But

But it may be ſaid that, in one paltry expedient at leaſt, this latter object ſeems to have been had in view: namely, the late curious order iſſued—I will not ſay in violation of the Conſtitution of this country, becauſe it came from very illuſtrious authority; and, as I am known to bow down with great reſpect to authorities of this deſcription, I ſhall not ſully my own conſiſtency by ſaying any thing ſo harſh—But I will ſay, that I never heard of the individual who pretended to point out the ſtatute, or maxim of the Conſtitution, which authoriſed ſuch an order to be iſſued and executed, without conſent of King, Lords, and Commons in Parliament aſſembled. But perhaps it may be affirmed, by thoſe who ſupport this meaſure, that there was no neceſſity to conſult the Commons, till it could be found out in what Houſe of Parliament the *Commons* did, in reality, aſſemble.

You may perceive that I allude to the order for letting the ſoldiery have bread and meat at a cheaper price than other Citizens had. But how could they be ſo ignorant of mankind as to ſuppoſe that ſo ſhallow an artifice would eſcape inſtantaneous detection? Could they ſuppoſe that becauſe a man might put off a coat of one colour and put on one of another, that he thereby put off common ſenſe? Or could they ſuppoſe, that when they had decorated a man in a blue or a ſcarlet coat, that he would put off the feelings of humanity, and refuſe to ſympathize with a brother or a friend, languiſhing in the want and miſery, which a profligate and ruinous war had brought upon the country? Or could they ſuppoſe either that the ſoldiery would not perceive the view with which this order was iſſued?

But, Citizens, it is plain and evident, that an individual practice like this cannot wipe from the mind deep impreſſion, produced by general conduct: and as ſoldiers have been lately in the habit of reading, and as I have given you the inſtances of ſome who have been threatened with the black hole and bread and water, and of others who have been ſent to the Continent on the forlorn hope, and others *in Scotland*, that have been faſtened with fetters and chains againſt the wall, kept upon bread and water and puniſhed with 400 laſhes, becauſe they would not *damn the friends of the people*—As all theſe circumſtances have taken place on account of the ſoldiers having the wicked and ſeditious preſumption to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digeſt; and as it is alſo true that there has been a certain rage, of late, for publiſhing ſmall books (cheap, democratic, ſans-culottiſh editions;)

tions;)—and as ariſtocratic works are ſent into the world in this form—and *of all things in the world, to make men democrats, there are none like ariſtocratic publications!*—If people will but read, no matter what, whether it is *Jack the Giant Killer*, *Tom Thumb the Great*, or *Burke's Reflections*, or any other ſilly and mad publication, I know where reading and thought muſt convey them; and the more ariſtocratic the books they read, the ſooner they will get to their point: that is to ſay, provided they do not only read, but, to expreſs myſelf in true orthodox phraſeology, alſo, mark, learn and inwardly digeſt, as they go on!

Now, Citizens, as ſoldiers will ſometimes read—and as it is probable that ſome impreſſion of this book, called *Hume's Hiſtory of England*, may have fallen into ſome ſoldier's hand, it is probable that, in conſequence of this, he may have picked out ſome facts which may have inclined him to meditate a little upon the circumſtances under which he is placed. Recollecting what his pay is at this time, and finding what it was in Queen *Elizabeth's* days, (I gave you a hiſtory of the price of proviſions in thoſe days in the laſt ſeaſon) when a good fat pig was bought for 4d. a hen for 2d. and a good fat capon for 3d. a chicken for a penny, &c. [*Tribune No. XVI. p.* 6.]—Finding that in Q. Beſs's days, ſuch being the price of proviſions, a common ſoldier received 8d. a day as his pay, which was the price of two fat pigs, he may be inclined to ſay to himſelf, how comes it that I do not receive the price of two fat pigs for being ſhot at now, as I ſhould have had if I had been ſhot at in the time of that old faſhioned Queen?

Citizens, this fact is contained in a note, ſo exceedingly curious and apropos, that I ſhall read it to you, both for your amuſement and inſtruction: and that you may ſee that I am not impoſing upon you. In the eighth volume of *Hume's* Hiſtory of *England*, page 336, you will find it thus written: "It is curious to obſerve that the Miniſter, in the war begun "in 1754,"—O what would he have ſaid if he had witneſſed the war begun in 1793!—"that the Miniſter, in the war "begun in 1754, was in ſome periods allowed to laviſh, "in two months, as great a ſum as was granted by Parliament "to Queen Elizabeth in forty-five years." But, Citizens, the Miniſter in 1754 was a novice, the preſent Miniſter will laviſh you much more in two hours! Hume proceeds; "the extreme frivolous object of the late war, and the great "importance of her's, ſet this matter in a ſtill ſtronger light. "Money too, we may obſerve, was in moſt particulars of

" the ſame value in both periods." That is to ſay, the cur-
" rent coin of the kingdom was of the ſame weight and ſtand-
" ard of metal. " She paid 8*d. a day to every foot ſoldier.*
" But our late deluſions have much exceeded any thing known
" in hiſtory, not even excepting thoſe of the cruſades. For
" I ſuppoſe *there is no mathematical, ſtill leſs an arithmetical*
" *demonſtration, that the road to the Holy Land was not the*
" *road to Paradiſe; but there is that the endleſs increaſe of*
" *national debt is the direct road to national ruin.*"

Such, Citizens, is the fact relative to the pay of the ſoldiery in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*; and ſuch are the reflections of an ariſtocratic writer when he notices that fact. But, if you pleaſe, we will make a little bit of an Iriſh progreſs, and go on a little way further back. Having given a ſpecimen from the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, I will now give you another from the time of *Edward* III. You will find that, even in the days of good Queen *Beſs*, there was ſome degree of abatement in the comforts and enjoyments of life to be reaped by the ſoldier, who fought the battles of his country, and endured hardſhips to protect the enjoyments and comforts of all the reſt: for we find that, in the time of *Edward* III. (*Hume*, vol. 3, *Cadell's ſmall edition*, page 377) an eſtimate of the different pay given to a ſoldier and to a common labourer, it not having been then perceived, that a man ought to receive leſs emolument for being ſhot at, than for being employed in the field. " A reaper, in the firſt week
" of Auguſt, was not allowed above two-pence a day, or
" near 6d. of our preſent money;" that is, in the time of Edward III, *one* ſhilling weighed as much as *three* do now. For you muſt always keep in your eye, when you are making a compariſon of ancient and preſent times, that the pound weight of ſilver was originally coined into 20s. which is the reaſon why we now call 20s. a pound; and that it gradually altered from that ſtandard till the time of *Elizabeth*, when it aſſumed the ſtandard that it now bears. Do not forget either, that this two-pence, which, in point of metal, was equal to our ſixpence, would buy as much corn, meat and ale, as can now be bought for 3s. 6d. or 4s.—" A reaper, in the firſt
" week of *Auguſt*, was not allowed above two-pence a day;
" in the ſecond week a third more. A maſter carpenter was
" limited through the whole year to threepence a day; a
" common carpenter to twopence, money of that age. It
" is remarkable that, in the ſame reign, the pay of a com-
" mon ſoldier, an archer, was 6d. a day"—which, by the change

change both in denomination and value, would be equivalent to 10s. or 12s. of our present money. This was something like being a soldier—two or three campaigns made a man's fortune; and if he escaped the first brush or two, he might leave off trade, and retire upon the profits to enjoy *otium cum dignitate*: and yet, strange to say, a war could then be carried on for an hundredth part of the present expence. But you will remember, there were not then so many great ministers and agents—Chancellors of the Exchequer, Lords of the Treasury, Lords of the Admiralty, Clerks of the Treasury, Lords of Trade—Lords Commissioners—Auditors, and a long string of &c. &c. &c. &c. &c's. that would tire my patience to repeat, and your's to hear. And as they had not to pay thousands to so many persons who did *nothing at all*—they were better able to pay a good price to those who were to do the whole.

Now, Citizens, it may perhaps happen that these circumstances may not be quite unknown in the country; since they have got in circulation in no less than three different editions of this size, besides several others; and such facts, if known, are not very well calculated to endear to the soldiery the present Boroughmongering system.

But administration seems to have forgotten what the character of a soldier is. And how should it be otherwise? There was a time when Statesmen were *heroes*, not *cabinet intriguers*. There was a time when he who thought he had a right to plunge a nation into war, and send millions to slaughter, thought he had no right to stay at home, and enjoy the honors and profits of the struggle, in security—ignorant of the temper as of the *sufferings* of those by whom it was maintained. This being the case, they were then enabled to discover, that a soldier has a certain jealous feeling about him, called his *honour*, which one of our ancient poets calls "the moral conscience of the brave." But the present men do not seem to know that *honour is the soldier's religion*; and that he who behaves to them like a swindler, degrades himself before them, and meets with their sovereign contempt. Not recollecting this, we find that they have dared to rouse the fiery indignation of the British soldiery, by tricks and artifices, at which common honesty and common humanity recoil. By these tricks they have carried on, by wholesale, the detestable practice of crimping; for which some inferior agents have been so long famous in the retail way. I allude,

Citizens, to the circumſtances of the enliſtment and ſubſequent treatment of the *fencible corps*.

If I am not very much miſtaken, while the bill for raiſing theſe corps was before the *Houſe of Commons*, an amendment was made by *Sheridan*, and at length adopted, that they ſhould not be ſent out of the country. But, whether this clauſe was actually inſerted in the act or not, certain it is we have proof, that under theſe terms and conditions, many, if not all, the fencible corps were raiſed. Yet what has been the conſequence? Has this agreement been abided by? Have Miniſters had the precaution even to keep their faith and honour with the inſtruments to which they look up for the ſupport of their own power and grandeur? No, I ſhall not particularly notice, on the preſent occaſion, the practice of ſending *Engliſh fencibles* to *Ireland*, and *Iriſh fencibles* to *England*, or bringing *Scotch fencibles* to this ſide of the *Tweed*, or ſending Engliſh to the other, becauſe I hope and truſt, from the enlightened ſpirit that has gone abroad among us, that we are faſt approaching to the important conviction that *Engliſh, Scotch and Iriſh are one, bound by one tie of intereſt and affection to love, ſupport and ſtand by each other, as ſworn and reciprocal friends*, who muſt mount up together to the renovation of their liberties and privileges, or, ſhould one be ſtruk down, muſt tumble all at once into the abyſs of ruin and deſtruction.

But there are other circumſtances to which I muſt allude more particularly. We can none of us have forgotten the mutinies and diſturbances which have unfortunately taken place, in various parts of the country. We none of us, I truſt, have reflected without horror upon thoſe threatening ſcenes of terror which began to open before us; and there is none, I hope, among us who would not join heart and hand, to remove for ever the cauſes of ſuch dangerous diſſentions, and prevent ſuch terrible events as muſt exiſt if ever that military, united for our defence, ſhould turn their ſwords againſt each other, or level them at the breaſts of their fellow citizens, and extort their own terms from an affrighted nation. Let us not, however, be afraid to mention facts. Let us not ſhrink from the unpleaſing but neceſſary recollection of ſcenes that have ſo lately paſſed. We cannot forget that a regiment of theſe fencibles, at *Briſtol*, were recently ordered to be embarked for *Jerſey* and *Guernſey*; and that finding their officers were not to go with them, they conſidered themſelves

themſelves crimped, trepanned and ſold. They took that opportunity, alſo, of complaining, not only that having been enliſted under pretence of ſerving only in a particular county, they were now about to be tranſported into another, but that they had not received the whole of the bounty upon promiſe of which they were at firſt enliſted; upon theſe grounds, therefore, they refuſed to go. The event is well known. They were remonſtrated with; they were promiſed their bounty as ſoon as they ſhould get on board;—they had been *promiſed* before! but what are promiſes to thoſe who have not the power to enforce them?—They refuſed to *quit* the country whoſe ſhores they had enliſted to *defend*. Force was employed againſt them; they formed themſelves in reſolute phalanx, and *Briſtol* was upon the eve of witneſſing the horrors of military rebellion, when, finding themſelves ſurrounded by ſuperior numbers, they ſubmitted, were driven on board the tranſports, and their ring-leaders ſeized to be tried as mutineers; and it is added, the bounty of which they had been defrauded has never been paid: the pretence being, that the terms upon which this tardy act of juſtice had been offered had not been accepted by them in time. Whether this laſt part of the ſtory is true or not I do not undertake abſolutely to affirm. There are certain circumſtances which, as it is ſcarcely poſſible to get to the bottom of them, we muſt take upon ſuch probable evidence as we can obtain; and all that can be expected of us is, that we do not affirm with greater confidence than we have good reaſon to believe.

At *Exeter* a ſimilar circumſtance took place, in a regiment raiſed by Lord *Cunningham*, and compoſed almoſt entirely of his vaſſals. Theſe men were entered at a bounty of eight guineas per man, the whole of which had not, it ſeems, been paid: and part of the terms as they repreſent it, were, that they ſhould not be ſent out of the country; and that they ſhould ſerve no longer than till the concluſion of the war. They, however, were ordered to the *Weſt Indies*:—that is, they were ordered to be drafted into the 43d regiment, which was bound to the *Weſt Indies*: and which was under no ſort of engagement to be diſbanded at the return of peace: and it is affirmed that they were, in fact, *ſold* by certain of their officers to that regiment, for fifteen guineas per man. They having been raiſed at eight, a dead profit of ſeven guineas per head was thus to be gained by thoſe upright men, who, conſidering that theſe poor ſoldiers were of the ſwiniſh multitude, might thus be ſaid to have "brought their hogs to a

"fine

"fine market," They alſo refuſed to be drafted, inſiſting upon the fulfilment of their contract. But litigations of this ſort are ſettled in a ſhorter way than by ſuits in Chancery. They were drafted at the mouth of the cannon; and compelled to quit the regiment to which, under certain conditions, they had joined themſelves, and enter into another bound by no conditions of a ſimilar nature.

Shall we dwell any longer upon theſe ſcenes? Shall we look to *Ireland*, where regiments ordered to the Weſt Indies, conſidering that they were only going to a certain grave, were alſo compelled (contrary it is ſaid to expreſs ſtipulations) to embark, by the terror of immediate military execution; while, at the ſame time, we are told that the officers were ſilenced by a profitable compromiſe. They being *gentlemen*, were to be treated in "another gueſs ſort of a way:" they were to be permitted to retire with *full pay*. Thus is the character of Britiſh officers to be degraded to that of common Crimps, who trepan and ſell their fellow men for deſpicable lucre and ſinecure commiſſion!

Citizens, we are told, in a miniſterial paper of to day, (for what is it that miniſterial papers will not tell us?)—we are told in a very peremptory tone, in that famous oracle of miniſterial wiſdom, "the Times," that the ſtory about trepanning the fencibles is nothing but a *Jacobinical fable*, invented by a parcel of *incendiaries*, to draw men from the paths of duty and foment commotion. But what do theſe miniſterial oracles ſay to the letter of Col. *Hay* upon this ſubject? Is the Colonel one of theſe Jacobins who are hired to diſſeminate theſe perjuries and falſehoods? Is Colonel *Hay*, whoſe letter has been publiſhed in almoſt all the papers, and who expreſsly declares that, having an aſſurance from thoſe from whom he received his commiſſion, that the men ſhould not be ſent out of the country, he raiſed his men upon thoſe terms, and made that expreſs agreement with them; and that he conſiders it a violation, both of his honour and the honour of his employers, that this compact ſhould be violated, and the men compulſively drafted into other regiments, which have not the advantage of any ſuch terms in their favour.

Citizens, Citizens, are theſe men ſerious when they tell us they mean to ſupport the preſent ſyſtem? Do they wiſh we ſhould reverence this ARISTOCRACY, which they ſay it is treaſon to defame? Do they wiſh that we ſhould peaceably ſubmit to this *Oligarchy* of Borough-mongers, which has

has usurped the government, and stripped both the King and people of their rights? If they do, methinks their means are ill adapted to their end! for I do not see how it is possible that even the very instruments of their power should feel themselves thus treated by the leaders and supporters of *aristocracy*, and not be induced to entertain strong feelings of detestation and abhorrence against a system, under which they can be treated with such bare faced violation of every compact and engagement, and every tie of good faith and amity:—nor how it is possible for them not to wish for the restoration of that *democracy* which, were it re-established, would render it impossible for ministers to practice, with impunity, artifices so base; or to degrade the national character, by such a violation of every duty towards those who are the hope and defence of the country.

But, Citizens, we have not yet approached the climax. We have yet to animadvert upon a set of beings, at whose name nature shrinks with abhorrence! a set of beings who bear the form and semblance of man, but who, like cannibals, prey upon human flesh, or revel at the banquets of low debauchery, amongst the groans and anguish of those whom they trepan and destroy. You will perceive that I am speaking of Crimps and Press-gangs—who have reduced the art of man-stealing to a science, and established their posts and stations in different parts of the country, from which, I suppose, we shall by and by have intelligence carried by new invented telegraphs, that their system may be conducted with the greater security.

I believe I should not be unauthorised, if I were to affirm, that immense fortunes are made by this infamous trade. I will not dwell, however, upon many particulars, nor name to you what Captains went to what crimping house, and told the Crimp Majors that they wanted ten men, and would give a hundred guineas for them; neither will I detail the commercial haggling that took place for the other fifty. Circumstances of this kind have been so repeatedly brought before the public, and with such strong and convincing proofs, (proofs marked in blood! proofs echoed in sighs of anguish to your ears!) that I need not occupy your time by much detail.

But remember, Citizens, these dungeons of crimping-houses could not exist—this practice of man-stealing could not be carried on, if there were not police officers in league with the wretches who commit these depredations—if the course of justice were fairly administered; if our magistrates

were

were fairly appointed, as by the ancient ſpirit of our Conſtitution they ought to be:—if, inſtead of being the creatures, tools, and ſometimes, perhaps, the panders of great men and officers of ſtate, they were men whoſe ſituations were conferred upon them merely by the confidence and reſpect of their fellow citizens. Practices of this kind cannot be conducted without official accomplices; and accordingly we find enquiry repeatedly cruſhed by the ſpecious pretence, *the King muſt have ſoldiers.*

The King muſt have *ſoldiers!*—but muſt the King have *ſlaves?* for thoſe who are ſtolen, ſeduced, or trapanned in the hour of drunkenneſs, are not ſoldiers but *ſlaves!*

Unfortunately, from the growth of corruption, from the immenſe volumes in which our laws are written—volumes which ſcarcely any human induſtry can toil through in a whole life—from the immenſe expence with which *juſtice is to be purchaſed by Engliſh freemen!* it is impoſſible for the poor and the ignorant to receive the benefit of thoſe laws: and emboldened by this circumſtance, with ſuch audacity does this trade of man-ſtealing ſtalk along our ſtreets, that even perſons in what are ariſtocratically called *reſpectable ſituations* —even thoſe whom all mankind conſidered as having ſome claims to humanity, are ſometimes its victims.

I might refer you, for a fact of a very ſuſpicious nature, to Mr. *Walker*, a bookſeller in this town, whoſe ſon (a ſolid and reſpectable young man of 19) has been miſſing theſe five or ſix months—no one knowing what is become of him: a young man as little likely to have quitted his family or friends, on any vagrant project, as any perſon in the metropolis. Inſtances of this ſort are numerous indeed, and many ſimilar circumſtances have come to my ears which I ſhall not take up your time by ſtating to you.

But there is another ſtory circumſtantially told me, by perſons ready to ſupport the truth of it, which I ſhall not paſs over in ſilence. The partner in a very conſiderable muſtard manufactory, in the Borough, was taken by force and violence upon one of the bridges, by a party of *kidnappers and crimps*, who evidently knew him, and called him by his name, and when, alarmed by their abrupt greeting, he denied that he was the man, they felt for a large ring that he wore, and, upon finding it, exclaimed, yes, but you are the man, for here is the ring; with which they accordingly made free. They then ſeized him, dragged him to a boat, and carried him to Chatham; from whence he eſcaped from the ſimple

circumſtance

circumſtance of a perſon accidentally recognizing him, and explaining who and what he was. But if he had been a poor man (no matter how honeſt and virtuous) what would it have availed who had ſeen, or who had known him?

From this circumſtance, Citizens, I turn to the lad, whom on *Friday* laſt I produced in this Tribune. The aunt of this lad, I ſhould inform you, having ſeen my poſting bills, called on Thurſday morning to relate the facts; and the perſon who anſwered the door, not knowing that I was above in my ſtudy, ſaid I was not at home. The aunt accordingly left word that ſhe called to tell me ſome circumſtances about her boy, who had been crimped; and whom ſhe was ready to bring to me, that he might be produced in this place if I thought proper—that the public might ſee what ſort of a lad had been ſo practiſed upon. She was to come again on the Friday morning; which, however, ſhe did not: but about the middle of the day a perſon came from her, and told me the ſtory in a more particular manner: bringing, at the ſame time, the newſpaper in which, during his abſence, he had been advertiſed, and the hand-bill which had been cried in Bartholomew Fair; to which he afterwards added the letter, written by the lad from Northampton to his aunt, who had protected him, from his infancy—he having loſt both his father *before* his birth, and his mother a few weeks *after*: Theſe circumſtances, he told me, he would bring the aunt and the boy to ſtate to me; and in the evening they came accordingly. The boy told his ſtory in a very plain and direct manner, ſtating that he went out from his aunt's houſe, with intention of going to ſchool, but that it being a little before ſix o'clock, he took a walk in the Park till the ſchool ſhould open. While thus ſauntering about, two ſoldiers came up to him, "My lad," ſaid one of them, "you look melancholy." "It may be ſo," ſaid the lad, "but you would not be melancholy," replied the crimp, "if you were a ſoldier. We who ſerve his Majeſty, have "plenty of money, and plenty of good liquor; and are "as happy as can be. I will give you five guineas now if "you will enliſt; and five more when you have enliſted." "I will ſee your money at the devil firſt," ſaid the boy. But he was immediately ſeized by the other, who was behind him; and who put a gag in his mouth, and took him in a coach to ſome houſe, he knew not where; confined him in a dark cellar; and in the night took him off, together with two

other boys, upon the road, as he was informed, towards *Manchester*.

The boy relates many curious adventures upon this journey in a very circumstantial manner; and very particularly describes the manner in which he found means, after he was locked up alone in a two pair of stairs room, at a public house out of the high road, where they stopped, by the assistance of his bed cord, to let himself down from the window, and make his escape. He then enquiring of the first person he met, his way into the high road for *London*, was directed to *Northampton*; whence he wrote a letter to his aunt, containing a rude statement of the foregoing facts; and his aunt accordingly went down immediately to fetch him. It was impossible I should have any objection to state facts like these, but, at the same time, it was necessary for me to guard against the possibility of deception; and to be cautious that I did not pledge myself to a story, however plausible, before I had sifted it to the very bottom. I therefore only noticed it in general terms on Friday, and adjourned the more ample statement to this evening. In the mean time I got a friend to go to the schoolmaster, in the first instance, from whom I learn that the boy had been absent, in the manner stated; and that he, for his part, believed the boy's story to be true; that he had a high opinion of the veracity of the aunt; and that he did not believe there was any sort of trick in it. I then got this same friend to write to Northampton, to know whether any such had ever been there, and what was the story he had told. The answer was, that he had been there; and the story he told, to the poor woman who protected him, corresponds with what I have already related. Still, however, I deemed it necessary to make further enquiries; and I proposed to the aunt that she should appoint two housekeepers whom she knew, and that I should appoint two that I knew; and that they should cross-examine the boy; and if to them there appeared satisfactory evidence of the truth of the story, that then affidavits should be drawn up for the boy and herself, and that they should go before a magistrate, and offer to make oath of the facts. This appeared to me the best way to avoid all possibility of deception: and, at the same time, as a part of the complaint made to me was, that the magistrates were unwilling to assist in searching the crimping-houses, &c. I conceived, that perhaps they would not be very ready to administer the oath proposed; and that if this should be the case,

these

theſe preliminary enquiries and precautions would make the appeal to the public ſo much the ſtronger, and expoſe the connivance in theſe infamous tranſactions the more completely. But with this propoſal the aunt refuſed to comply; obſerving that ſhe was an Officer's widow, and was dependent, and that ſhe would not fly in the face of Government. I therefore choſe to drop all further concern in the affair; and ſhe immediately went to the magiſtrate (as I have ſince learned) and offered to make oath of the facts. The magiſtrate, however, as I foreſaw, refuſed to adminiſter the oath, and expreſſed no ſmall degree of indignation at her having been with me upon ſuch a buſineſs.

Such then, Citizens, are the circumſtances of this ſtory, which it appears to me demands moſt ſerious inveſtigation: and which, I hope, ſome Citizen will endeavour to probe to the bottom. If it is true, it is a truth ſo monſtrous, and ſo alarming to every one, whoſe heart is alive to parental feeling, as ſcarcely any inſtance in the records of human infamy can equal.

Not to dwell, however, upon a ſtory relative to which even the very ſhadow of a doubt can remain, I ſhall conclude this lecture with a melancholy circumſtance that took place at *Poole*. I ſhall not go very fully into the affair at preſent, becauſe from perſons in that part of the country I have promiſes that I can depend upon, of authentic and full particulars of the tranſaction; and the general heads of it have been ſome time ago ſtated in the public papers.

The circumſtances are briefly thus—A veſſel coming into the port of Poole, with only a few hands on board, perceiving itſelf likely to be boarded by a preſs-gang, (a banditti of wretches who though well known in this country for their open atrocities, have no ſort of legal right or pretence for the depredations they commit on individual ſecurity;) the crew, determined to defend themſelves: but the maſter of the preſs-gang boarded the veſſel, and, by the aſſiſtance of ſome ſoldiers whom he found means to compel, reluctantly, to aſſiſt his project, he ſucceeded in reducing the unfortunate crew; having ſhot three of the men who had the audacity to defend themſelves. Two of them may perhaps be conſidered as having fallen in the ſtruggle; but the fate of the third can bear no ſofter name than deliberate murder. The inſtance I allude to was the Midſhipman, who, perceiving his companions and friends fall beneath the ferocious rage of theſe cannibals, bared his boſom, and exclaimed, "you have mur-

"dered my companions, murder me alſo." The ruffian Lieutenant took him at his word; levelled the piſtol at his breaſt, and ſhot him dead.

The whole of this affair, and the diſgraceful facts which followed, will ſoon, I hope, be ſubmitted to the public. Suffice it to ſay, for the preſent, that the enraged populace, and particularly the relatives of the murdered ſeamen and paſſengers, fell upon the preſs-gang with great fury, and threatened to tear them to pieces. They were reſcued, however, and carried to gaol, under pretence of being committed for trial: but when the day of trial came, the principal witneſſes, who were ſome ſoldiers quartered in the town, were found to have been marched off in the dead of the night: and thus was the courſe of juſtice perverted. But the tale of horror does not ſtop here. The inhabitants of *Poole* affirm, and I have ſeen very reſpectable perſons who ſupport the affirmation, that the three men who were the principal perpetrators of theſe murders, by the abuſe of miniſterial or ſome other corruption, by the poiſon that has been poured into that ear which ought to be cloſed to every whiſper but of juſtice and truth—theſe men—Shall I call them *men*? theſe tygers in human ſhape have been appointed to places, and rewarded with penſions!!!

What, Citizens, is this the law and juſtice we wiſh to maintain?—Is this our liberty?—Is this our Conſtitution? Where is the audacious Miniſter? Where is the wretched tool of party that can dare to ſtand up (armed as he may be with all the terrors of perverted law, or military domination) —where is the wretch that dare to ſtand up and tell me that this is the law or conſtitution of this country—that theſe are the objects for which the prerogative of mercy was lodged in royal hands—or that it is for this Britons ought to expend their treaſures and exhauſt their blood!

Unhappy Britons! why do you rear with fond ſolicitude the offspring of your loves?—why do ye toil to improve the futility of the ſoil, or the excellency of your manufactures?—why do ye plough the dangerous billow, to enrich your country with the fruits of other climes? Alas! alas! and is it all for this—that the preſs-gang, the crimp, the kidnapper may tear the hopeful or induſtrious youth from the boſom of his friends and relatives? or having ſlaughtered the innocent and uſeful member of ſociety, may exult in the rewards of violence, and be crowned with commemorating honours,

as

as the ancient Romans were, not when they had deſtroyed, but when they had ſaved the lives of their fellow citizens?

We have talked of *requiſitions* in *France*, but what is a French requiſition when compared with this? The requiſition of France was inſtituted to compel all ranks and orders of ſociety to take their ſhare in the common danger—to compel the wealthieſt citizen to encounter the ſame hazard as the pooreſt: which, according to my conception, is moſt impartial juſtice. For why ſhould the paltry pittance of a man wallowing in wealth and luxury, be put in competition with my life, becauſe forſooth I have not learned his thriving arts? Why ſhould the wealthy merchant—the ermined Peer—the over pampered paraſite of miniſterial corruption, remain in indolent ſecurity at home, while the peaſant quits his plough, or the artificer his loom, to ſhed his blood in defence of thoſe who diſdain to ſhare the common danger? Why ſhould the plain common man be doomed not only to an untimely grave, but leave alſo a helpleſs family to beggary and diſtreſs, while the rich man repoſes in the couch of luxury, amuſes himſelf with the narrative of exploits performed at the expence of the blood of thoſe whom Nature made his equals, and habit has rendered more uſeful to ſociety than himſelf?

Nay, according to their own doctrines, the rich, and the rich alone, ought to be ſent to fight the battles of any country. They impudently tell us, when we talk of rights, that we can have no rights becauſe we have nothing to loſe. If we have nothing to loſe, we can have nothing to defend; and I do not know why we ſhould ſpend *our* blood in defending the poſſeſſions and enjoyments of others, who care ſo little for us, and repay us only with contempt. Inſtead of ſoothing us, inſtead of encouraging us in this unequal warfare, where we ſtake every thing and have nothing to gain; inſtead of this, the very reverſe is the picture of their conduct, and the poor common ſoldier either dies in the ranks, or is conſigned to a workhouſe or an hoſpital, to brood over his wounds and ſervices: and what adds to theſe aggravations and inſults, the bond of plighted faith is broken with the ſoldier, enliſted for his country's defence, and military commiſſions, once the rewards of patriot ſervices, are little other than patents of impunity for man ſtealing and the traffic of human blood.

What blind infatuation has ſeized upon the minds of our governors. Why talk we of Jacobiniſm? Who are ſuch rank Jacobins as the adminiſtration conducting our preſent affairs? Why talk we of anarchy? Who are the organizers

of

of anarchy but Pitt, Dundas, and their ſubaltern coadjutors! Why talk we of the Britiſh conſtitution? It no longer exiſts. Thoſe who pretend to idolize it have pulled it down! and even the ill conſtructed cumbrous pile of oligarchy which faction has raiſed in its place, thoſe who are moſt intereſted in ſupporting it, ſeem emulous to deſtroy; and like Sampſon of old, to bury themſelves in the ruins of an edifice which they are no longer capable of ſupporting.

RIGHTS OF BRITONS.

In No. XXIV. I inſerted, from the *Critical Review*, an article noticing my "*Natural and Conſtitutional Right of Britons to Annual Parliaments, univerſal Suffrage, and the Freedom of Popular Aſſociation*," &c.—Since that time the following article has appeared in another literary journal.

MONTHLY REVIEW, Sept. 1795, p. 103, Art. 43.—*The Natural and Conſtitutional Right*, &c.

"IT is the unqueſtionable Right of free-born Britons, when legally accuſed of any crime, to be heard in their own defence:—but experience has fully proved that it is more advantageous to the party accuſed, as well as more eligible for the public, that his defence ſhall be made by proxy, than in his own proper perſon. Weighty reaſons might be aſſigned for this;—even in the caſe in which the perſon, againſt whom the charge is brought, poſſeſſes talents which might well enable him to become his own advocate. Notwithſtanding Mr. Thelwall's eloquence, improved by a habit of public ſpeaking, we apprehend he has no reaſon to complain that his cauſe was transferred from his own hands to thoſe of the able and upright pleaders who ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves, on the part of the priſoners, in the late ſtate-trials for high treaſon. Perhaps, too, the public may be of opinion that, after the full report which has been given of their pleadings, and of the whole proceſs of the trials, it is not probable that much important matter reſpecting theſe proſecutions can yet remain to be diſcloſed. Mr. Thelwall, however, thinks it right, after his honourable acquittal, again to preſent himſelf before the bar of the public in his own perſon, by publiſhing the ſpeech which he intended to have delivered on his trial; and his Vindication will be found to exhibit

exhibit many things, reſpecting both the general cauſe and individual caſe of Mr. Thelwall, with a degree of force and energy which, while it diſplays in a favourable light the writer's oratorical talents, may ſerve to eſtabliſh in the public mind the fulleſt conviction of the equity of the verdicts in queſtion, and of their importance to the preſervation of public freedom. Circumſtanced as Mr. T. has been, it is not to be expected that, with his ardour of temper and command of language, he ſhould be capable of writing without ſome portion of acrimony. The work, however, not only has conſiderable merit as a political oration, but ſtates, with great ſtrength of argument, ſeveral important points in which Britiſh freedom is eſſentially intereſted;—particularly the queſtion concerning Parliamentary Reform."

FAREWELL TO THE YEAR 1794.

(*From* WHITCHURCH's *Poetical Pieces.*)

THOU long—long year of Maſſacre—farewell!
With horror I retrace thy bloody reign:
For, ah! of war's ſad victims who can tell
The countleſs myriads in thy circle ſlain?

Pregnant with human ills of every name,
And all the plagues that deſolate the earth;
I ſaw thee riſe in War's deſtructive flame,
And penſive mark'd thy inauſpicious birth.

Oh! ſtain'd with fouleſt crimes thy every hour!
Thy reign a regiſter of blood appears,
In which the "Dogs of War" did much devour,
More ſavage far than in preceding years.

Too much of this, the rapid *Rhine*, the *Meuſe*,
The *Scheldt*, the *Sambre*, and the deep *Moſelle*,
Can bluſhing prove, whilſt human blood profuſe,
Their banks empurple, and their waters ſwell.

Too much of this, the *Alps*, the *Pyrennees*,
Columbia's Iſles, and *Northern Lands*, have found;
For *torrid Zones*, *rough Seas*, and *Climes that freeze*,
Have heard alike the Battle's Thunder ſound.

Too much of this was *Poland* made to feel,
'Gainſt *Royal Robbers* forc'd in arms to riſe;
For, ah! beneath the barb'rous *Coſſack's* ſteel
Her valiant KOSCIUSCO bleeding lies!

Illuſtrious

Illuſtrious Chief!—*ſure 'tis no treaſon here*
To pay an heart-felt tribute to thy worth;
O'er ſuff'ring Liberty to drop a tear,
And curſe the bloody Tygreſs of the North.

Lo! *Iſmael*'s * brutal Conqueror, from afar,
Leads on his myrmidons in ſcent of prey;
Train'd up to all the cruelties of war,
To age, to ſex, they no diſtinction pay!

Ill-fated *Praga* † yielded to their rage:
And, oh! the maſſacre that there enſu'd—
In blood of blooming youth, and hoary age,
Their ſavage hands were wickedly imbru'd!

In vain the Mother's prayer—the Infant's cry—
Nor prayers, nor tears, could move the furious band;
Beneath the ſword ALL undiſtinguiſh'd die,
For thus the FIEND SUWARROW gave command!

At length thy reign, thou year of blood, is o'er;
And pleas'd my Muſe ſhall ſound thy parting knell:
Oh! could ſhe ſtill as ſoon the cannon's roar,
And bid with thee the pomp of war farewell!

* *Iſmael* is a place of conſiderable ſtrength in European Turkey, ſituated on the Danube, at no great diſtance from the Black Sea,—It was taken by ſtorm on the 22d December, 1790, and the Turkiſh garriſon, who ſo nobly defended it, and whoſe bravery merited a better fate, were maſſacred, *in cold blood*, to the amount of upwards of thirty thouſand men, by the command of that truſty ſervant of the *amiable* CATHERINE, the renowned GENERAL SUWARROW.—The town was given up to the unreſtrained fury of the Ruſſian ſoldiery; and the moſt horrid outrages were perpetrated on the defenceleſs inhabitants by that hord of ſavages, who took upwards of three days and nights to complete their work of cruelty and blood!

† Of the ſtorming of this place by the Ruſſian monſters, and the horrible maſſacre that enſued, ſome of the newſpapers gave the following tragical account: "The ſuburbs of *Praga*, ſeparated from *Warſaw* by the Viſtula, "was defended by more than a hundred cannon, diſpoſed upon thirty-three "batteries. It was under the fire of this terrible artillery, that GENERAL "SUWARROW made his troops mount to the aſſault, in the ſame manner as "he had done at the taking of *Iſmael*, where the Ruſſians entered only by "climbing over the dead bodies of their comrades, as well as their enemies. "The General gave the ſame orders in the aſſault of the ſuburbs of *Praga*: "he enjoined the ſoldiers to give quarter to no one. The engagement laſted "two hours; and this memorable day, the 4th of November, 1794, will be "numbered among thoſe in which human blood was ſhed in moſt abundance, even in theſe unhappy times in which we live. The number of "unfortunate Poles who periſhed by the ſword, the fire, and the water, (the "bridge over the Viſtula having been broken during the action,) are eſtimated "at *Twenty Thouſand!*—In the ſuburbs of *Praga*, *Twelve Thouſand* inhabitants, "of both ſexes, and all ages, were the victims of the firſt fury of the Ruſſians, who maſſacred all whom they met, without diſtinction of age, ſex, or "quality!"

THE TRIBUNE. N°. XXVIII.

Report on the STATE OF POPULAR OPINION, *and Cauſes of the* Increaſe *of* DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES. *Part the Fifth. Including Sketches of the affairs of* SCOTLAND *and* IRELAND, *with a Hiſtory of the Progreſs of* DEFENDERISM, and Reflections on the Fate and Deportment of O'CONNOR. *Delivered at the Lecture Room, Beaufort Buildings, Strand, September 18th, 1795.*

CITIZENS,

IF the ſtate of opinion in England is not very flattering to the champions of ariſtocracy, let us conſider whether, by turning their eyes towards *Scotland* and *Ireland*, they will find much more reaſon for conſolation and ſatisfaction. Let us conſider what is the ſtate of the public mind there: and let us keep it conſtantly in remembrance, that we ought to be equally anxious about every part of the opinions of every part of the nation, and that we ought to be equally deſirous of promoting the peace, happineſs, and proſperity of all the *three diviſions*, as they have hitherto been conſidered, but as I would ſay the *three integral parts*, of a ſtate, which I ſhould wiſh to ſee to the end of time one and indiviſible, in ſentiments, wiſhes, and in exertions.

With reſpect to *Scotland*, we cannot but be aware that there a diſpoſition to diſſatisfaction, and that a very ſtrong bias, indeed, towards immediate and thorough reform has been manifeſted, even before it diſplayed itſelf with equal ſtrength in this part of the nation. We cannot but be aware that the principles of liberty are there very widely diffuſed, and that a conſiderable degree of indignation and anger ſtill boils in the breaſts of Scotchmen, on account of the abject ſituation in which they are held by corruption, and the ſlavery impoſed upon them by *royal Burghs* and other rotten corporations, by

which their rights are extinguiſhed and their ſuffrages monopolized.

It is very true, Citizens, that from the unfortunate circumſtance of *Scotland* being a country where there are no laws, an inquiſition has been eſtabliſhed, in that part of the country more ſucceſsfully than Mr. *Reeves*, and his honourable aſſociates, have been enabled to eſtabliſh here.—I ſay from *Scotland* being a country where there are no laws: for when Judges from the Bench ſhall declare, as the Judges of the *Court of Juſticiary* have declared, that an opinion delivered by the Privy Council is binding upon the conſciences of Judges, becauſe undoubtedly ſome of the Judges of the country were Members of that Privy Council—I ſay when opinions like theſe are delivered, which, in other words, is aſſerting that the Judges have a right to make whatever laws it is convenient for them to execute, then the ſtate of the people, as to any hope of legal redreſs, as to any hope of public virtue and juſtice, is abſolutely that of having no laws at all. Nay, I ſpeak too favourably: they are in a condition much worſe than if they had no laws at all: for to have laws *to puniſh*, but *none to redreſs*, to have laws to *cruſh*, but none to *protect*, to have laws that can trample us into the duſt; that can ſubjugate us to a tyrannous ariſtocracy, and no laws to obtain a redreſs againſt the uſurpations of that ariſtocracy, is a ſtate infinitely worſe than that of ſavages who run wild in the woods, and ſeek for protection only from their own ſtrong arm.

In conſequence then of the modes of proceeding in the Courts of Juſticiary, in conſequence of the *public proſecutor* being able to appoint, in the moſt open and palpable manner, the jury, by the *majority of whoſe voices* the perſon brought before them is to be tried, they have been enabled to produce a degree of terror never equalled, except under the tyranny of that *Gallic* dictator, *Robeſpierre*, ſo frequently abuſed, and ſo conſtantly imitated by thoſe who abuſe him moſt. On this ſide of the *Tweed* there is more difficulty in executing the arbitrary will of a few inquiſitors. Exertions after exertions have been made to cruſh opinion: and yet freedom of opinion ſtill lifts its head on high, and braves the thunders of miniſterial and inquiſitorial vengeance. Magiſtrates have tried all means to ſuppreſs diſcuſſion, and all would not do. They have tried cabals and intrigues of every deſcription—nay they have winked and connived at violence, and even ſent into rooms, were perſons were aſſembled for the purpoſe of free

diſcuſſion,

diſcuſſion, their police officers to create riots. Yet ſtill the treaſury papers call aloud for the magiſtrates to repeat thoſe fruitleſs exertions to cruſh every individual who dares to ſpeak the truth, and to find *honeſt juries* to acquit him for having ſo ſpoken.

Yes, Citizens, the oracular diurnal pamphleteer of a certain great treaſury ſcribbler, has been calling very loud upon the magiſtrates to repreſs aſſemblies, in which it is wickedly maintained that *cruelties and murders have been committed by crimps and preſs gangs.*

Citizens, I ſhould like to know what ſort of exertion it is that magiſtrates are to appeal to, in order to ſuppreſs *the Jacobinical crime of Reaſon. Police officers* have already kicked up riots and neglected to take themſelves up for ſuch rioting—*Police officers* have brought huge deluded *coal-heavers*, to bellow forth outrageous ſongs within theſe walls—but who, as ſoon as they heard the voice of reaſon, well convinced of the truth of the principles they were ſent to decry, departed from the room with denunciations againſt thoſe who had attempted to delude them, and to inflame their minds againſt thoſe who, inſtead of enemies, they found to be their beſt friends. *Reeves*—the grand arch inquiſitor! *Reeves*, the chief magiſtrate of this diſtrict, has given orders to every conſtable and officer of the Dutchy to crimp me—for I can call it nothing elſe, to take a man up without warrant, authority or criminal accuſation, with what view no one has ever been able to diſcover or divine—but probably to conduct him on board a ſhip to fight his Majeſty's battles, and maintain the honour of the Britiſh flag, in defiance of the blaſphemous thunder of republican cannon. A pert little gentleman, alſo, who though at preſent no magiſtrate, may perhaps be one ſome day or other—a little prating Jack a Dandy, of the name of *Jenkinſon*, employed on a certain occaſion fifty bludgeon men, to knock Lecturer and auditors o' the head, and all has failed—nuiſance has failed—ſedition has failed, and high treaſon itſelf has failed. I ſhould like to know what are the freſh exertions magiſtrates are called upon to make, that they may rival the triumphant glories of the *Court of Juſticiary*, and cruſh the monſter diſcuſſion, in this part, alſo, of Great Britain.

To return, however, to *Scotland.* If we are to judge from mere external circumſtances, the ſentiments of liberty there lie proſtrate at the feet of thoſe to whom liberty is always offenſive, and reaſon always a crime. But let us not conclude too haſtily, appearances are frequently deluſive; and the rage

and indignation that is ſmothered and pent up within the boſoms of individuals who dare not ſpeak, frequently engenders fury more deſtructive, and diſpoſitions more inimical to the preſervation of peace and happineſs, than all the flaming ſedition, as it is called, ever breathed from the lips of thoſe who, boldly ſpeaking their minds, and inveſtigating their principles, are liable to be contradicted at all times; and if they ſpeak falſely to be convicted of that falſhood, and overwhelmed with the ſhame and diſgrace due to the wretch "who dare think one thing and another tell."

Citizens, we cannot be ignorant of the character of the Scotch nation; we muſt be narrow minded, infatuated beings, if we do not admit that our brethren on the other ſide of the *Tweed* are a brave, a gallant, an intrepid, and a reflecting people. We muſt be loſt to all knowledge of the human character, if we ſuppoſe that ſuch men relinquiſh their principles merely becauſe they are not permitted, for the preſent, to ſpeak them. We muſt be blind indeed to all conviction that reſults from an obſervation of the conduct and character of mankind, if we are not convinced that, by attempting to ſmother and ſuffocate the diſcuſſion of opinions, and forcibly to ſuppreſs the expreſſion of popular ſentiment, we alienate the affections of thoſe men whom we thus treat like vanquiſhed ſlaves, and create in their boſoms a determined enmity againſt that government which thus compels them to be *enemies* when they wiſh only to be *reformers*.

What can you ſuppoſe, at this time, muſt paſs in the breaſt of the Scotchman, who feels himſelf no longer enabled, on account of this ſyſtem of perſecution and inquiſition, to unboſom himſelf to the friend of his heart, or ſpeak his ſentiments over the chearful glaſs? What muſt be his feelings, I ſay, when he finds ſentiments thus immured in his boſom? Muſt they not be eminently hoſtile to the aggrandizement of thoſe who have thus choſen to be dreaded maſters, when they might have reigned in the affections of men who, owning no maſter, look only with veneration and eſteem to their benefactors—and, above all, to the public benefactor, whoſe eminent ſituation enables him to diſpenſe felicity to thouſands.

Citizens, the plain and ſimple fact is, that there is but one ſource of national peace and popular attachment; and that is the unforced affections of the heart. You may *compel* men to *hate* you; but their *affections* you muſt win by kind and gentle means—they can never be forced; and not leſs ridiculous is any attempt to coerce mankind, and compel them to applaud your

your meaſures, or be attached to your government, than was the attempt of the oriental Tyrant in the fable, who attempted to compel, by arbitrary laws, every perſon throughout his Court to wear the ſmile of gladneſs upon his face. All the gloomy, all the malignant paſſions you may extort; but if you wiſh for diſpoſitions friendly to happineſs and virtue, you muſt win them by gentle means—and if you will not, by wiſe, virtuous, and juſt regulations, ſecure the affections of the people; if you will not, by equal laws fairly and juſtly adminiſtered, ſecure to the magiſtracy of the country that veneration which virtue and wiſdom can alone obtain, farewell to all hopes of enjoying any peace and tranquillity in the elevated ſituations to which fortune may have exalted you, or to which you may have aſpired by intrigue and artifice.

But let us turn from Scotland to a picture ſtill more gloomy and unfortunate. Let us behold the condition of our ſiſter country *Ireland*. Here, I believe, we ſhall find ſtill leſs to exult in, ſtill leſs to be ſatisfied with. Here we ſhall find diſcontent diſſeminating itſelf through all ranks and conditions of the people; and we ſhall find (melancholy to relate!) that coercive meaſures have driven many an excellent and upright individual into the miſtaken notion of looking for protection from a foreign army, and wiſhing rather for the aſſiſtance of thoſe who hitherto had been conſidered as their natural enemies, than the protection of thoſe who ought to be their natural and their zealous friends.

Perhaps, Citizens, it may not be improper, in this part of the inveſtigation, to take a brief view of the former hiſtory of the country I am ſpeaking of. We are to remember that *Ireland* was in the firſt inſtance a conquered province; and we ought therefore, perhaps, to be the more anxious to treat the people with kindneſs; ſince it is only from this kindneſs that we can poſſibly expect to fix their attachment, and unite them to us in the firm bonds of amity.

The barbarous maxims of ancient conquerors always reduced the natives of a ſubjugated country to a ſituation little better than that of ſlaves; and, accordingly, the deſcendants from the ancient *Iriſh*, to this day (for we have not yet entirely conquered thoſe prejudices which early tyranny taught mankind) are to be found principally among the moſt neglected orders of the community; while the generality of the gentry trace their deſcent from Engliſh families. Hence we have not yet that thorough incorporation of the different claſſes which muſt be the zealous wiſh of every good friend

to

to the peace and happineſs of mankind: ſince without this the gentle intercourſes and ſympathies of life, the reciprocations, produced by intermediate and gradual ſteps of acceſſion and declenſion, have never been known in *Ireland* as once they *were* in *England*.

Citizens, the abject condition of the lower orders in *Ireland* is ſuch as no individual of feeling and humanity can contemplate, without regret and anguiſh. Ignorance—ſavage ignorance reigns triumphant: and what has been the bleſſed conſequence? There have been miniſters, in modern times, who were very anxious to ſuppreſs all enquiry, and who conſidered it as an enormous crime to impart information to mankind. If you wiſh to rule people in peace and keep them in proper order, ſay they, you muſt keep the ſwiniſh multitude in ignorance. Thus, and thus only, are you to make them quietly ſubmit to their lordly drivers. Yet look at *Ireland*. Is the maxim ſupported by the experience of that country? a greater degree of ignorance, I ſhould ſuppoſe, than prevails among the *wild Iriſh*, as they are called, even the Miniſters of this country would not wiſh to prevail. And yet the hiſtory of *Ireland* is little elſe than a continued narrative of ferocious depredations committed by theſe ignorant people, linked in tumultuary combinations, to extort by violence what they have not improved intellect to demand by the voice of manly and intrepid reaſon.

Citizens, I ſpeak not from national feelings, I wiſh to triumph over all nationality: and with me, indeed, there is no national diſtinction between *Iriſhmen, Scotchmen and Engliſhmen*. I care not which name is articulated firſt, It is only contending which brother of the ſame equal family ſhall firſt be named: and as *I abhor the rights of primogeniture*, I am ſatisfied with which ſoever you begin; ſo that you will but admit that they have all the ſame common rights of happineſs and fraternity.

But at the ſame time I muſt obſerve, that in almoſt all caſes, the brothers and ſiſters of the ſame family have a different character. From the little intercourſe I have had with *Iriſh gentlemen*, I have found it pretty uniformly agreed, that even among the higher claſſes of ſociety, information, generally ſpeaking, is but too much neglected. Hence it is that there is a greater diſpoſition to neglect the rights and intereſts of the lower orders. I know there are brilliant exceptions. We have had repeated proofs of the ſtrong genius and energetic underſtanding of the *Iriſh nation*—proofs that make one

ſtill

ſtill more lament that a miſtaken ſort of hoſpitality, too nearly allied to drunkenneſs and debauchery, ſhould have obſcured the faculties which might have contributed ſo much to the happineſs of the univerſe. Let me obſerve, however, that nothing can be more unfriendly to the happineſs, and conſequently to the contentment of the laborious orders of ſociety than that men of the higher (that is to ſay the *more uſeleſs*) ranks ſhould be loſt in extravagant debauchery, and inſult the ſtarving wretchedneſs of the poor by the waſteful profuſion of privileged licentiouſneſs.

Another circumſtance, contributing to this diſcontent, is the common practice of the gentry in *Ireland*, farming out their eſtates, as they generally do, in large portions, to intermediate proprietors, whoſe trade being extortion, trample ſtill more upon thoſe from whoſe induſtry the happineſs, the grandeur, and the ſtrength of the country is alone to be ſupported. This being the ſtate of ſociety in *Ireland*, we ſhall not be much ſurprized to find that, for centuries, the hiſtory of that country has been uniformly marked by the exceſſes committed by combinations of the common people.

The firſt inſtance I ſhall particularly mention is the *Rapparees*, a ſet of perſons whoſe hiſtory you will find amply detailed in "Sir *John Dalrymple's* Memoirs:" and perhaps you wil be a little amuſed by tracing the very great reſemblance between thoſe depredators and the "virtuous peaſants of *Poictou*," as the aſſaſſins and midnight plunderers of *Brittany* have been affectedly called; and whoſe ſole virtue is being the tools of an inſolent ſwarm of Prieſts and ariſtocratic oppreſſors, and lurking in woods, at the corners of roads, to cut the throats of every individual whom they think differs from them in opinion. That ſuch is the real hiſtory of the *Chouans*, if I were diſpoſed to enter further into the digreſſion, might be eaſily proved. And but too nearly ſuch is the picture drawn by Sir *John Dalrymple*, of the *Rapparees* or Tories; and who were the individuals who had the merited honour of conferring a title upon the high flown ariſtocrats in this country.

After theſe *Rapparees* aroſe another ſect, rather of a different deſcription, but ſtill who unfortunately marked the hiſtory of the country by aſſociations highly inimical to public peace and welfare.

But let us mark, if you pleaſe, how they aroſe, as it may be a uſeful leſſon to thoſe who, in this country, are ſo very

fond

ſond of the incloſing ſyſtem.—Not that I find fault with the mere circumſtance of incloſure, but with *that ſyſtem of incloſure by which the rich monopolize to themſelves the eſtates, rights, and poſſeſſions of the poor.*

The men of whom I am now about to ſpeak are the *White Boys*; and who, in the firſt inſtance, were called *levellers.*

It may not be unimportant to tell you how they obtained that name: for even they were not levellers of *Reeves's* deſcription, The ſublime idea of levelling all intellect and plundering all property, was left for diſcovery to the keen and penetrating genius of that great lawyer—*the founder of inquiſitions, and the organizer of the ſyſtem of ſpies and perjured treachery.*

The *Levellers of Ireland* took their name from the following circumſtance. There were, in that diviſion of Ireland where they firſt aroſe, very conſiderable commons, which had been long aſſiſtant to the comfortable ſupport of poor families. But certain perſons of conſiderable power and diſtinction, took it into their heads that they could make a better uſe of theſe commons, than the poor people did; and therefore, without any act of Parliament or legal authority whatever, they ſeized thoſe commons and incloſed them with what are called *dry walls*—that is to ſay, walls of ſtones piled one upon another, without any cement. The common people, not very well liking this ſyſtem of encroachment, levelled thoſe dry walls conſtantly by night which the ariſtocrats conſtantly built up in the day. Hence they were called *levellers.* The uſurpers of the people's rights were thus compelled to build wet walls, that the joints of the *ariſtocratic ſtones* being combined by the democratic lime, might reſiſt the encroachments of theſe *levellers.* Such is the early hiſtory of theſe aſſociators, but as they afterwards adopted a ſtrange faſhion of "wearing their ſhirts over their coats," from that circumſtance they came to be called *White Boys.*

Under this denomination they continued their depredations; and, at laſt, in an unaccountable diſpoſition to do ſome degree of juſtice to theſe common people, who ſhewed that they would never be quiet till they got it, thoſe commons were reſtored, by an act of Parliament—to their right owners. But, as generally happens, when rulers ſtruggle againſt the rights of the people) the repentance came too late. *The ſeeds of ſedition were ſown, as they always are ſown, by the tyranny*

and

ill management of the rulers. And conceſſions were made, as uſual, when thoſe conceſſions could no longer heal the wounds which tyranny and uſurpation had inflicted.—May the conceſſions of modern Ariſtocrats be made in better ſeaſon; before the diſcontents, which their preſent ſyſtem of oppreſſion cannot fail to diſſeminate, have taken ſuch deep root as to be fatal to the tranquillity of the community! that we may thus avoid the conſequences which muſt inevitably reſult from a determination to uphold *the rights of borough mongers*, in oppoſition *to the rights of man!* and *the privileges of a few*, in oppoſition to *the juſt immunities of all!*

Citizens, I ſhall proceed to obſerve that there are other circumſtances, which reſult from maxims of policy equally unjuſt and ridiculous, which have a tendency, at this time, to excite in Ireland even the wildeſt diſpoſitions of democracy.

I mean, in particular, the univerſal diſſatisfaction which at this time prevails, in conſequence of the refuſal of an act of juſtice to the conſciences of a great majority of the people, which was ſo peaceably demanded, and which there was at one time reaſon to hope would have been ſo honourably conceded. We cannot, Citizens, avoid obſerving that, ever ſince the revolution, there has been a diſpoſition, almoſt in whatever party happened to be uppermoſt, to cheriſh a diviſion of ſentiments upon ſpeculative opinions. This is one of the engines conſtantly employed to divide the people: it being the maxim with thoſe whoſe principles are weak, and whoſe ambition is ſtrong to divide firſt that they may conquer afterwards. Thus, for a whole century almoſt, have the minds of the *Iriſh Catholics* been agitated againſt thoſe of the *eſtabliſhed religion*, and the minds of the *Proteſtants* agitated againſt the *Catholics*. Hence, alſo, in this country, have *the ridiculous teſt and corporation acts* been ſupported with a view, as one would imagine, to no other end but to keep alive the unnatural ferment and diſſatisfaction, which has ſo long ſubſiſted between *Proteſtants of the Church of England and Proteſtant Diſſenters*.

This maxim, however, of diviſion upon religious ſentiment has been ſtrained too far: as has always been the caſe with reſpect to diſhonorable expedients. If you go upon the plain, ſimple principle of juſtice, you can never ſtrain too far: becauſe the further you go in the right road, the nearer you get to the great ſtandard of truth. But if, on the contrary, you adopt principles of ambition, and *paltry expedients*

for the gratification of that ambition; thoſe very expedients, carried to an exceſs, recoil upon thoſe who have attempted to ſupport themſelves by ſuch means, and deſtroy the power they were intended to aggrandize.

Such has been, in a conſiderable degree, the caſe with reſpect to diſputations and jealouſies upon religious ſubjects. Mankind have been taught, by artifices ſo frequently diſcovered, to conſider theſe as intrigues of ſtate trickſters and jugglers; and have therefore come pretty unanimouſly to the adoption of this plain and ſelf-evident axiom—that *if you wiſh for the full and ample enjoyment of the rights of religious opinion, you muſt firſt acquire the full and actual enjoyment of political liberty*,

When you have annihilated uſurpation, tyranny and monopoly—when you have made the voice and ſentiments of the people a fair and juſt rule for the principles of legiſlation, you have done away the power of one faction to tyrannize over another; and having eſtabliſhed liberty upon ſo broad a baſis, you are enabled to found a temple ſo capacious, as to afford every honeſt heart an opportunity to indulge every ſentiment, and exerciſe every inclination, not hoſtile to the peace, happineſs, and welfare of mankind.

We have talked, Citizens, of toleration. We have made an empty boaſt of *granting a part of their rights* to particular claſſes of people, till mankind have diſcovered that *the very word toleration is but an inſult:* that *no perſon has a right to tolerate the opinions of another: becauſe no perſon has a right to call the opinions of another in queſtion.* The right to form our own judgment upon every abſtract queſtion is a right which can never be taken from man, though its exerciſe may be tyrannically ſuſpended. *(Interruption.)*

Toleration means putting up with the opinions of others. But I ſhould like to know what right any perſon can have for ſuppoſing it a matter that depends upon his inclination whether another man ſhall have an opinion, will, or inclination of his own: Nay, opinion is not only an inviolable right; but a right that mocks the folly of perſecution; becauſe it never can be taken away. You may make men hypocrites, indeed, (and perhaps governors, not being very much attached to ſincerity, may not have any particular objection to hypocrites!) but you cannot compel them to change their opinions. To talk, therefore, of toleration is rank abſurdity. It is the *right*, not the *indulgence* of the free exerciſe of the convictions

convictions of judgment, upon queſtions which ſociety has no right to interfere with, that is claimed by every enlightened advocate for the happineſs of mankind.

But let us conſider what has been the conduct of the Miniſter in this reſpect. We cannot, Citizens, be blind to the truth, that the whole people of *Ireland* have, of late, expreſſed a ſtrong inclination that the *Catholics* ſhould be emancipated from the reſtrictions under which they lay. It has not only been the wiſh of *Catholics* themſelves; it has been the wiſh of Proteſtants. This unanimous wiſh inſpired a rational expectation in the minds of the peop'e, that compliance and not coercion would follow. This expectation we know to have been conſiderably increaſed by the appointment of *Earl Fitzwilliam* to the Viceroyalty. I ſhall not dwell upon events which are freſh in your remembrance. Suffice it to ſay, that *Ireland* expected emancipation; but that *Ireland* was diſappointed; and was taught to remember that ſhe was dependent upon the Cabinet of *London*: or, in other words, upon King *William* the fourth—alias KING PITT; whoſe ſovereign will and pleaſure was, that the Catholics ſhould not be emancipated; and that the wiſhes of the people of *Ireland* ſhould not be indulged.

The fact is that a ſort of congenial ſympathy affected his mind. He was exceedingly unwilling that the *Ponſonbys*, who monopolized all the power, patronage, and wealth of *Ireland*, ſhould loſe any part of that power, while he himſelf, monopolizing all the power, patronage, and property of *England*, had the power of preventing ſo diſagreeable a circumſtance. But what were the pretences for refuſing the emancipation? Why forſooth we are told, all of a ſudden, that the Catholics, hitherto proſcribed as the moſt violent advocates for deſpotic power, by a ſort of magical *hocus pocus*, are turned to violent democrats, and that they would overturn royalty, and ariſtocracy, and all the peaceful and regular inſtitutions of orderly government. This it is true may appear ſtrange! Such an alteration, in ſo ſhort a time! But the wonder vaniſhes when we obſerve how rapid a progreſs certain principles are making; and that even the *Pope* himſelf has turned Jacobin, and forced his bull to bellow forth VOX POPULI VOX DEI: "*the voice of the people is the voice of God!* and therefore you, my good ſon *Louis*, muſt ſubmit to the will of God, expreſſed in ſo clear and audible a manner!" If, therefore, Sir *Infallibility* himſelf has proclaimed this great truth, it is certainly not impoſſible that the devotees of

his *infallible holineſs* ſhould entertain the ſame faith. Be this, however, as it will, the catholic emancipation was rejected; and, inſtead of the abolition of ridiculous diſtinctions between one religion and another, a ſyſtem of military coercion is eſtabliſhed in *Ireland*, and the reign of a new Viceroy was proclaimed by the arrival of thouſands of *Engliſh Fencibles*, into a country where *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* ought to be no further diſtinctions than right hand and left of the ſame body; one of which could not be employed againſt the other, without involving an act of ſuicide.

But what muſt be the tendency of ſuch a meaſure? Depreſſion and terror for the preſent, a civil war for the future, Diſunion and deſtruction, and ſcenes of ſlaughter, in which brother, perhaps, muſt ſhed once more (as on the plains of *America*) the blood of brother, and the *Iriſh relative* glut the keen poinard in the breaſt of his *Engliſh friend*.

Meaſures of this deſcription mark a deſperation which can only be aſcribed to phrenzy. That the Miniſter of a great country ſhould hope to enforce theſe meaſures, which he cannot carry by truſting fairly to the hearts and wiſhes of the people, by rendering one part of the country an inſtrument to coerce the other, is a wickedneſs ſo wild and extravagant, that one would be aſtoniſhed any human being could adopt it without ſome preconcerted ſcheme to ſeparate the two parts of the Empire.

But it is impoſſible this ſyſtem ſhould ſucceed. The light of reaſon has gone abroad, humanity has warmed the breaſt of man; and we have found (ſtrange indeed that we ſhould have been ſo long in making the diſcovery!) that even the ſooty *African* is our brother: that even the poor "whip-galled ſlave," in the *Weſt Indies*, deſerves our commiſeration: and, this being the caſe, do you ſuppoſe we can be blind to this ſtill more evident truth, that *Engliſh, Scotch and Iriſh*, are one and the ſame—that they are united and bound together in the chains of inſeparable intereſt—and that to attempt to employ one of them, as an inſtrument of coercion againſt the other, is an attempt to make men the aſſaſſins of each other, who, upon the firſt moment's reflection, inſtead of poignards, inſtead of coercion and malice, will extend the hand of fraternity to each other, and ruſh forward, not to each other's deſtruction, but with open arms to the embrace of concord, peace, liberty and affection, exclaiming with ardour—*think not to make us brutes and ſavages, to tear each other's breaſts, we are all men*, WE ARE ALL BRETHREN,

and

and will not ſhed the blood of thoſe whoſe manly hearts are warmed with affection for us, and whoſe generous virtues call for our admiration and eſteem!

But, Citizens, notwithſtanding all this progreſs, generally ſpeaking, towards this union of ſentiment, it cannot but be acknowledged, that the meaſures adopted by Miniſters have, in particular boſoms, ſtirred up a ſpirit of diſunion; and I am much deceived if there are not in *Ireland*, at this time, ſtrong diſpoſitions to an abſolute ſeparation from this country.

I ſpeak not wiſhes but fears. My ſentiments are certainly congenial to the indiviſibility of the three countries. I think we are not too large, conſidering the great and powerful nations in our neighbourhood: and though I have hopes that the ſyſtem of hoſtility is dying away—though I have great expectations that the preſent hoſtilities are the laſt agonizing and convulſive throws of that ſyſtem of perpetual war and devaſtation, which has ſo long depopulated *Europe*; yet, at the ſame time, I cannot but think that ſome degree of proportion between the ſtrength, power, and population of neighbouring countries, may have ſome tendency towards protecting them from the renewal of that ſyſtem. Therefore I do not, in this caſe, "ſpeak by tropes," nor, "by my fears expreſs my hopes." To whatever degree this diſpoſition may have ſpread, certainly the meaſures at preſent adopted, muſt have a conſiderable tendency to increaſe it: For can we be extravagant enough to ſuppoſe, that, by mere military force, we can retain *Ireland* as a dependant Colony? No—She has a right to be conſidered as an equal part; poſſeſſing all the immunities that we ought to poſſeſs; and, therefore, in ſubjection ſhe never will be held.

Obſerve what diſſatisfactions make their appearance. When proſecutions for high treaſon are going abroad, there is generally a conviction, in the minds of thoſe who inſtitute them, that their meaſures are ſuch as juſtify attempts of that deſcription. When we perceive the manner in which they have behaved lately towards the *defenders*; and when we conſider how theſe *defenders* have apparently increaſed in number, I think we ſhall perceive that we are not ſtrengthening the bonds of union and affection. And though theſe *defenders*, in many reſpects, bear great ſimilarity to the *White Boys* or *levellers* of former times, yet I think the late trial will lead me to ſuſpect, that there is a powerful and formidable conſpiracy to effect a ſeparation between *Ireland* and *England*.

I ſhould

I should wish, from the bottom of my soul, that no such conspiracy existed; but if it do, can the late event promise much for the frustration of such a design? quite the contrary. What has been the conduct of the man who, upon the oath of a single witness, swearing himself to be foresworn, has been condemned to execution. Think of his manly, his intrepid, his magnificent conduct! Hear, in every word and sentiment that he speaks, the feelings and convictions of an honest enthusiasm—misled and deluded, it is true, or rather driven, by the persecutions and oppressions of the times, into notions and projects offensive to the laws, and opposite, I believe to the real interests of his country—yet an enthusiasm so powerful—so fascinating—so encouraging as cannot fail to produce an effect the very reverse of panic, depression and dispersion. Let us be just to those whose actions we do not applaud. Let us confess then that this man could not have so deported himself—could not have so expressed himself—could not have waked this glow of involuntary admiration in our hearts, if he had not been prompted and animated by an internal feeling of the justice and propriety of his conduct. And who knows how widely this delusive feeling may have spread? or how much warmth, enthusiasm, and revenge, may have been generated in the breasts of his followers, by his heroic intrepidity? Do we, who disapprove the *cause*, feel this veneration for the *man*?—What then may be the emotions of those who participate in his political feelings? Let us remember, also, that these Defenders in general, if there were not a great mixture of justice and truth in their pretensions, could never have become so midable to government. *Wat Tyler*, that great and glorious character, so infamously assassinated, and so wickedly blasphemed by courtly historians, would never have been the leader of a powerful body of the populace, if the pretences for which he had armed had not been founded in justice and natural equity; nor would these Defenders ever have been formidable if there had not been oppressions, and acts of injustice, which stimulated the feelings of many an honest but impatient being, rather than endure the miseries of his country, to appeal to means unjustifiable, but which, from the ignorance they are retained in, are the only means they know how to devise.

In short, I am convinced that this act of coercion, and the magnanimity with which the man has perished, will rather promote

promote the cauſe of *defenderiſm* than beat it down; and that, if we would in reality check the progreſs of this evil, we muſt not appeal to coercion, but muſt ameliorate the condition of ſociety; and reform thoſe abuſes which have reduced the lower orders to their preſent melancholy ſituation.

On the independence of mind produced by genuine BENEVOLENCE.—*From* DYER'S *Diſſertation on the Theory and Practice of Benevolence.*

[The pamphlet from which the following extract is made, is the production of Geo. Dyer, B. A. a Citizen whoſe life appears to have been ſpent in the active exerciſe of the virtue which his pen is employed to recommend to others. The particular work, of which theſe paragraphs are a ſpecimen, and "the complaints of the poor," a pamphlet, formerly publiſhed by the ſame eſtimable author, contain innumerable paſſages which, both in point of *fact* and *principle*, challenge the attention of all thoſe who ſincerely wiſh properly to underſtand the condition, and practically to alleviate the calamities of mankind.]

"THE independence of a good man conſiſts in a ſuperiority to every influence, but of moral perſuaſion, and to every force, but of rational conviction. It proceeds from a ſenſe of dignity, and perſonal rectitude: it is that decent pride, that characterizes generous minds; that high ſenſe of honour, that will not ſuffer them to yield to profligacy, or to ſtoop to meanneſs: it is a kind of majeſty, eſſential to virtue; or more properly ſpeaking, it is the grace of ingenuouſneſs, and the freedom of innocence.

"This virtuous independence crowns the happineſs of private life; and happy are the governments, that give it public ſecurity! In ſteady and pure governments this becomes a principal conſideration of national regard. Their aim is to produce public happineſs, not to aggrandize or enrich individuals; to procure moral freedom through the medium of political juſtice. Offices are appropriated to talent; and, if virtues are not diſtinguiſhed by honours, they are not, at leaſt, expoſed to penalties. The cultivator of the land enjoys the fruits without oppreſſion; the legiſlator, and the magiſtrate are indemnified, if not rewarded. No one is tempted to exchange

change his principles for a livelihood; and each conſiders himſelf as an individual of a family, in which no one is a ſlave.

"But governments, as well as individuals, are imperfect, ſome in a greater, others in a leſs degree. In many an original ſin lurks, that breaks out, at intervals, through every department, and weakens and exhauſts the whole political ſyſtem. One powerful ſpirit of tyranny pervades them; and men, through habits of tyranny, have ſcarcely a term to expreſs freedom or honour*. In others, where deſpotiſm is not ſo conſpicuous, corruption may ſupply its place. In a ſyſtem, where beſides the regular ſalaries of office, ſinecures and douceurs are held out, corruption is inſeparable. A ſinecure is, ſometimes, an unequivocal and direct bargain; and at others, where no bargain is openly made, it is ſecretly implied. You are the property of your patron: not, indeed, his beaſt, but his dependent; his political ſlave: and whether your reward be money or honour, it ſtands not in neceſſary connection with talents or virtues, but is the price of your principles and of your influence: to give directions would be unneceſſary and tedious: you muſt underſtand hints: ſtudy the language of becks and nods; utter ſuch a word, though you comprehend not its meaning; perform ſuch an action, though convinced of its baſeneſs. An honeſt man, perhaps, would denominate ſuch douceurs, bribes; and though, poſſibly, he would not call the receiver a villain, he would ſcarcely conſider him a good man.

"The douceurs of government are not the only obſtructions to independence. Conſiderations ariſing from rank, learning, religion, political ſentiment, and country, have their ſeparate weight in different minds. But the man, who, before he performs a beneficent action, or exerciſes the tender affections, muſt be firſt ſatisfied on theſe points,—Are you a nobleman, or a commoner: a poor or a rich man; a philoſopher or a peaſant; a chriſtian or an infidel; a black or a white man?—one who muſt thus, as it were, run over the whole catechiſm of man, cannot be independent, in the ſenſe in which the philanthrophiſt is.—*Homo ſum*,—I am a man—he ſtops there.

* This is literally true of the Ruſſian language, as I am informed by a gentleman, who reſided many years in Ruſſia, and who is well acquainted with the language.

A PATRIOT's

A

PATRIOT'S FEELING;

OR THE

CALL OF DUTY.

ON QUITTING THE ISLE OF WIGHT.

"Falſus honor juvat, et mendax infamia terret
"Quem, niſi mendorum et medicandum?"——

HOR.

VECTA, farewel—to other ſcenes I fly,
Far from thy cheerful haunts and genial ſky,
Thy fertile vales, thy mountains ſteep and hoar,
And charms romantic of thy varied ſhore.
No more along thy level beach I ſtray,
Nor o'er thy rocky fragments force my way;
Where wrecks of matter in confuſion hurl'd,
Wake the wild image of a crumbling world.
No more in *Apley*'s pleaſant haunts I rove,
Where murmuring ſurges waſh the pendant grove,
O'er *Solent*'s wave while barks unnumber'd glide,
And anchor'd navies float in tow'ring pride:
Nor, turning hence to *Chale*'s tempeſtuous ſhore,
The *Blackgang*'s ſavage horrors I explore——
Terrific chine! whoſe yawning cliffs ariſe
From Ocean midway to the azure ſkies;

While curling clouds, impregn'd with briny dew,
Wrap thy rough ſummit from the gazer's view!
  Theſe, and a thouſand magic ſcenes beſide,
Beauteous or wild—where, in luxuriant pride,
Fertility prevails, or where, unbroke,
O'er-rugged Nature ſpurns the gentle yoke
Of human culture, to our wond'ring eyes,
While rock, buſh, brake, in ſtrange confuſion riſe—
Theſe I forego; and leave with theſe behind,
Whate'er is deareſt to the ſocial mind—
The liſping babe, whoſe artleſs ſmiles impart
Joy's anxious throb to the paternal heart,
And the ſoft partner, whoſe kind cares beſtow
Sweets to each joy, and balm to every woe—
Theſe I forego—the tendereſt boons of life!
While I, once more, braving the two-fold ſtrife
Of factious Envy and tyrannic Rage,
Corruption's hydra-headed fiend engage;
Reaſon's keen ſword, once more, indignant wield,
Truth for my helm, and Juſtice for my ſhield;
Nor fear, thus arm'd, Oppreſſion's fierceſt ſtrife—
The Law's dark ambuſh, nor the aſſaſſin's knife!
For, O what mind of generous frame can brook
To ſee his country to the galling yoke
Of baſe Corruption bow? while millions pine,
Condemned each boon of nature to reſign!—
To drudge in ceaſeleſs toil, and abject fear,
And ignorance, while Pride, with gripe ſevere,
Extorts the hard-earn'd produce, to ſupport
The headlong projects of a venal court,
And to unwieldy grandeur lift the crew
Whoſe crimes undo their country? Who can view
The peaſants' ſtarving wretchedneſs; the woes
Which Labour's palid progeny encloſe

In

In each proud city; or the village train
Of barefoot, ragged children, who ſuſtain
A vagrant life of penury and pain
By cringing beggary, and dog the wheels
Of paſſing Luxury—proud fiend! who feels
Nor ſhame, nor ſoft compunction, but with ſmiles
Enjoys their antic tricks and cringing wiles,
And holds ſuch abject homage as his due!
—Who, that has thought, ſuch piteous ſcenes can view,
Nor feel indignant ardors urge his ſoul
The cauſe of wrongs ſo numerous to controul,
At vile Corruption's o'ergorg'd throat to fly,
And quell the fiend, or in the conflict die!!
Come then,—tho' Calumny, with envious rage,
In league with tyrant enmity engage;—
Tho' baſe Suſpicion, with malignant aim,
Diſtort my actions, and my views defame:—
Tho' thoſe, for whom, at peril of my life,
I foremoſt ſtood to brave Oppreſſion's ſtrife,
To wildeſt tales the willing ear incline,
And with the common enemy combine
To blaſt my peace;—yet come, thou godlike pow'r,
To whom full oft, at midnight's ſolemn hour,
While others ſleep, I pour the anxious ſoul,
That not alone would reach thy glorious goal,
O Liberty! but pants to take along,
Freed from vile chains, the renovated throng
Long trampled in the duſt! Come, ſacred pow'r,
O'er every ſenſe the enthuſiaſt ardor ſhow'r
That warms thy favour'd vot'ries. O ariſe!
Flame in my breath, and lighten in my eyes,
That I may blaſt Oppreſſion; rouſe mankind
To truth and happineſs, and lift the mind

Above the ſordid paſſions that debaſe,
And fix the fetters of the human race!
O, let not private wrongs—let not the pride
Of ill-requited ſervices divide
Patriot from Patriot, nor in party brawls
Plunge him, reſentful, while the public calls
For zeal unanimous. Teach me, bleſt power,
That noble magnanimity to tow'r
Above each private feeling. Steel my heart
With all the Stoic's firmneſs; and impart
A perſevering energy, unſway'd
By Paſſion or Corruption, undiſmay'd
By Pow'r or Faction, or the furious hiſs
Of undeſerv'd Suſpicion; and be this
My ſole revenge on thoſe whoſe ſland'rous tongue
Taint my fair fame—to ſhew the envious throng
Nor wrongs nor favours move his conſtant mind
Whoſe firſt great object is—to SERVE MANKIND!

ALDERMOOR,
27th Auguſt, 1795.

THE TRIBUNE, N°. XXIX.

The TERRORS *and* VIOLENCE *of* ALARMISTS, *an impolitic confeſſion of the injuſtice and abſurdity of their Syſtem:*—the Exordium to a courſe of Lectures on the CAUSES OF THE RECENT DISTURBANCES—commenced *Sept:* 23*d.*

CITIZENS,

I SHALL begin with obſerving, that, among other good effects lately produced by this practice of Lecturing, one of the moſt important is, that a claſs of men, tinctured very deeply with ariſtocratic prejudices, have, during this ſeaſon, very much frequented, and, greatly to their honour, have very peaceably and quietly deported themſelves in this room.—For this I am perhaps indebted, in no inconſiderable degree, to the moſt virulent of all the miniſterial news-papers: for although the government (I ſhould ſay the clerks and miniſters of government) have prevented my advertiſements from appearing in thoſe papers, yet "the True Briton" kindly and generouſly favors me with a puff almoſt every day, free of all charge and expence. Theſe men, perhaps, remember that they are very well paid by the Treaſury, and may therefore afford to do a kind action for a *Sans Culotte*, without reward.

But whether it be from theſe kind *puffs oblique*, or from whatever circumſtance, that I am indebted for ſuch attendance, I know not: but this I know, which is more important, —many perſons have gone away from this place, proſelytes to the cauſe they came to ridicule, and aſhamed of the prejudices they had ſo haſtily adopted. There are others alſo, it muſt be admitted, who quit the room with denunciations and threats of vengeance, and by anonymous letters teſtify their rancour, and threaten me with the pillory, Newgate, and the gibbet.

Citizens, I cannot paſs over theſe abſurd proclamations of the terror and apprehenſions which theſe ariſtocrats ſeem to feel at the preſent political enquiry, without enquiring, Why this anxiety to ſuppreſs meetings of this deſcription? My doctrines are peaceable. I labour to prevent commotion, not to promote it: and it cannot be denied, that *the diſcuſſion of*

political ſubjects is a conſtitutional right of Britons, and the unalienable right of man. Yet, forſooth, Diſcuſſion muſt be cruſhed—Enquiry muſt be prevented. But how? They can no longer hope aſſiſtance from the perjuries of their *ſpies and informers.* Conſcious of the legality of my doctrines, I am provided with a ſhort-hand writer, who can prove what I ſay, and detect, by accurate evidence, the mis-ſtatements of theſe aſſaſſins: and, if it ſhould pleaſe his majeſty's miniſters that theſe Lectures ſhould be repeated in a court of juſtice, and circulated through the country in *Reports of Secret Committees*, word for word, it may be pointed out what are the dreadful doctrines delivered from this place.

But, Citizens, there is a conſiſtent want of policy in the conduct of theſe ariſtocrats. What will you conceive, when you hear what a dreadful alarm has lately been created through the village of Chelſea, by the libellous Jacobinical words, DEATH OR LIBERTY, written on the walls and gate-ways of that neighbourhood? Would you ſuppoſe, that meetings of the Churchwardens and Overſeers could be held on ſuch an occaſion, and that a lady of quality—a titled lady, (ſtrange degeneracy!) deſcended from one of thoſe illuſtrious houſes that have ſpilt their blood in the cauſe of Liberty, has occaſioned a hand-bill to be ſtuck about, offering £20 reward to whoever would diſcover the writer of theſe dreadful cabaliſtical and jacobinical words?—It was not enough to ſend a lad to rub them out, with denunciations in his mouth, and a diſhclout in his hand, hoping that death would be the portion of the wretch who was bold enough to write ſo wicked an inſcription. No: rewards and pariſh proclamations were to be iſſued, to terrify the gaping multitude into the belief, that even to talk of Liberty was ſedition and high treaſon.

Citizens, *there was a time when Death or Liberty was the burthen of every Briton's ſong:* when it was thought that no man was a friend to the conſtitution or country of Britain, who was not ready to reverberate thoſe ſounds with an energy that proved them to come from his heart. What then is the reaſon of this change? Is it the intention of Ariſtocracy thus to libel the inſtitution that ſanctions their privileges? Is it their opinion that Liberty and Ariſtocracy are inconſiſtent with each other? If it is, I cannot wonder that a miſerable ſyſtem ſhould be accompanied with ſuch miſerable fears:—Fears which every little noiſe can ſtartle, and every breath of wind fan into a flame.

I will

I will give you another inſtance of this:—The man that kept the *Magpye* in *Chelſea* had in his houſe the model of a *guillotine*, which had been exhibited about the town, and particularly in the Haymarket, at the time when every exhibition and ſpectacle was encouraged, by the alarmiſts, that could excite the terrors, and inflame the prejudices, of the people. This machine, after having done its duty before the public, was depoſited, as a ſecurity for a debt which the joiner was not able to pay, in the hands of the publican: it was accordingly put in a room ſeldom uſed, and where of courſe this treaſonable curioſity was ſeldom ſeen. It happened, however, that ſome party-coloured birds (that is to ſay, ſome Juſtices and Pariſh Officers) dined at the Magpye, and, the houſe being uncommonly full, neceſſity induced the landlord to introduce the Churchwardens, Overſeers, their Worſhips, and the whole lot of loyal etceteras, into the room where the guillotine was placed. The conſternation and terror of this worſhipful company, at the ſight of an inſtrument ſo tremendous, is not to be deſcribed. The poor landlord was denounced for a *Jacobin*. It was in vain that he told their enraged and terrified high mightineſſes the occaſion of his having the machine in his poſſeſſion. "It was impoſſible to have ſuch a thing in his houſe, without ſome evil intention. A ſuſpicion was even ſuggeſted, that, when he wanted a fowl for his ſpit, he made uſe of this implement of decapitation, in order to bring his hand in:" and, after a very tumultuous debate, they inſiſted on his burning it before his own door; but the maſter of the *Magpye* not being ſuch a *jack-daw* as to obey ſuch a command, they executed their vengeance on the next licenſing day, by taking away his licence.

Citizens, what can be the reaſon of theſe panics and alarms?—Frail, indeed, muſt be that loyalty which the exhibition of a *guillotine* can overturn! Frail, indeed, muſt be that conſtitution; conſcious, indeed, of their corruption, muſt be its ſupporters, if they feel themſelves convinced, that, to ſupport it, they muſt be ſheltered by darkneſs—they muſt ſhrink from every ray of enquiry. What, are not the ſublime rhetorical flouriſhes of *Burke*, the metaphyſical harangues of *Wyndham*, the flowing eloquence of *Pitt*, and the effrontery of *Dundas*—are not all theſe combined in one harmonious concert of panegyric, and aſſiſted with the full chorus of all the authority, power and wealth of the country, potent enough to overwhelm the feeble voice of one unconnected individual?

—Is it neceſſary, with ſuch a combination united together to protect, as they ſay, to ſupport our bleſſed and glorious conſtitution, to impoſe coercive ſilence upon a ſolitary Lecturer, leſt, with two hours diſcourſe per week, he ſhould talk down the venerable walls and maſſy pillars of this ancient edifice, and, out-doing Sampſon himſelf, overthrow the *Lords of Gaza* and their temple together, not by the ſtrength of his muſcles, but his voice?

No, Citizens, they know very well, that whatever threatens the Conſtitution of this country is to be looked for from another quarter. It is the pillars of Corruption, not the pillars of the State, that they are afraid ſhould be ſhaken. It is Syſtem, it is the rotten boroughs—not the inſtitutions of our anceſtors, they tremble for; and perhaps they are wiſe (having this ſyſtem ſo much at heart) to prevent enquiry as much as they poſſibly can: for the moment the light of reaſon ſhines upon it, its cumbrous deformities and ruinous defects will be evident, and men will live under ſuch a tottering pile of dangerous and disjointed fragments no more.

Let me adviſe theſe very wiſe and very ſapient rulers to examine the queſtion a little further; to think a little deeper. Let them conſider the abſurdity, the extreme danger, of attempting to cruſh the progreſs of Political Enquiry: for it is the tendency of political enquiry to inform the mind; and, though you may keep the mind in ignorance, unleſs you can alſo prevent the feelings of mankind from taking cognizance of wrongs, you cannot prevent them from being impatient under thoſe wrongs; and when a people are at once impatient of their ſufferings, and ignorant of the means of obtaining redreſs, violence, commotion, and deſperate revenge, are inevitable.

You may inſtance, indeed, the deſpotiſms of Aſia, or the ſubjugation of Turkiſh ſlaves, in oppoſition to this ſentiment: but the caſes are eſſentially different. The people of this country are not a herd of two-legged brutes, with whom the divine rights of the Seraglio, or the Cabinet, conſtitute a part of their religion. The ſpirit of this country is not yet broken down: energy yet remains among us, and courage and hardihood continue to be traits of the Britiſh character. Let reaſon then have fair play; ſet wide open the portals of diſcuſſion and enquiry, that this ſpirit may know the manner in which it ought to exert itſelf.

ON *the* CAUSES *of the* LATE DISTURBANCES.

Part the First. *Including Strictures on the Opinion of Lord* BACON, *that the* Poverty *and* Misery *of the* People *is the principal Source of* SEDITIONS *and* TROUBLES.

I NOW, Citizens, proceed to illuſtrate the axiom, that "PARLIAMENTARY CORRUPTION AND MINI-"STERIAL AMBITION ARE THE ORIGINAL SOURCES "OF ALL THE CALAMITIES AND DISTURBANCES "THAT AFFLICT THE NATION!"

I ſhall begin this ſubject with obſerving, what appears to me to be an ample juſtification of this enquiry, that *Violence* is the twin brother of *Ignorance*; and that both are engendered by *Miſery*, and nurtured by *Corruption!*

In order to illuſtrate this, let us conſider awhile the nature of the late diſturbances, and recollect who are the men that have been engaged in them. Have they been the frequenters of political Lecturers, or the members of political aſſociations?—We know from facts the contrary. *Reformers have proved themſelves to be no rioters*; and we have ſeen, by the melancholy occurrences at the Old Bailey, a few days ago, that the very men employed to ſupport by coercion the preſent ſyſtem of government, are thoſe among whom the unfortunate beings have been found, who were foremoſt in expreſſing, in an improper manner, their deteſtation of certain practices of an oppreſſive nature, and to expreſs, by violence and fury, their impatience and ſenſe of their wrongs. I allude to the unfortunate Drummer, whoſe life, it ſeems, is to atone for the injuries he has committed againſt the peace of ſociety: a poor being actuated, perhaps, by an honeſt and laudable motive; but unfortunately plunged ſo deep in ignorance, as not to know the manner in which ſuch motives ought to have directed him to act. Yet what is the conduct of the ſcribbling retainers of this coercive ſyſtem?—What is the conduct of thoſe diurnal retailers of ſlander and defamation—which call themſelves *news-papers*—as if falſehood and calumny could ever be new, when Corruption and Injuſtice bear the ſway?—We find them anxiouſly and buſily employed in baſe attempts to turn the attention of the people from the real ſources of their grievances, to the unfortunate agents and traders,

traders, who are ſuffering at leaſt their ſhare of all the miſeries of the nation.

Citizens, if you perſuade mankind that the miller, the mealman, the butcher, the baker, are the cauſes of the dearneſs of the neceſſaries of life, what will be their conduct? They will ſee the objects of their reſentment at hand; and theſe will become the victims of their miſtaken rage.

But the fact is, that it is not individuals—it is miſtaken inſtitutions, falſe principles, and the deluſions of Corruption, that have reduced the great maſs of the people to that melancholy ſituation into which they are plunged. It is therefore not by diſturbance, not by violence, but by reformation, that theſe objects muſt be effected. To this political melioration let us then direct our attention. By a conduct oppoſite to this, theſe diſturbances, theſe diſpoſitions to violence, have been conſiderably cheriſhed and fermented by the advocates of the preſent adminiſtration: nay, a part of the ſyſtem of ſome of theſe ſupporters ſeems to have been (with what view it ſeems not difficult to divine) to foment among the people a diſpoſition to outrage. Witneſs the commotions at *Mancheſter*, at *Birmingham*, and other ariſtocratic parts of the country—commotions that were evidently excited and encouraged by thoſe very individuals whoſe duty it was to protect the inhabitants in the peaceable poſſeſſion of their opinions and property. Let us remember the very inadequate compenſation that was given to that excellent experimental philoſopher *Prieſtley*, who, after all the labors of a well-ſpent life, is driven to ſeek, in trans-atlantic regions, that aſylum which the laws (rather let me ſay thoſe who have graſped the adminiſtration of the laws) of this country would not afford him. Let us remember alſo, that after Citizen *Walker*, and Citizen *Cooper*, had been attacked in their own houſeſs by the lawleſs inſolence of a Church-and-King banditti, the only recompence they received was, that one, by a cruel combination of ariſtocratic intriguers, was driven into baniſhment, and the other, on the evidence of a profligate wretch, who confeſſed that he had been bribed to take away the life of this Citizen's man, was accuſed of high treaſon, and tried for a fictitious conſpiracy.

Can we wonder, Citizens, if, after this, perſons thus ſchooled in violence ſhould change the object of their depredations? Can we wonder that there ſhould be found thoſe who were hardy enough to follow the precedent thus ſet them, to the deſtruction of peace and order; and that thoſe who firſt

encouraged

encouraged this ſpirit of turbulence, ſhould tremble at its effects?

I remember, Citizens, at one of the meetings of the Friends of the Freedom of the Preſs, Mr. *Grey*, in a very animated manner, deſcribed the abſurd encouragement that had been given to people, aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, to burn the Apoſtle of Liberty, *Thomas Paine*, in effigy, after having firſt carried the mock victim about the ſtreets, with a bladder of bullock's blood for a heart, that they might prick it, and give the ſurrounding ſpectators an idea of a fellow-being bleeding to death beneath the aſſaſſinating fury of the multitude—I remember Mr. *Grey*, after deſcribing the diſgraceful ſcene, exclaiming with a ſort of prophetic feeling, "O weak and deluded men, thus to ſtir up the malignant "paſſions of a deluded multitude! How will ye anſwer for "the conſequences! How will ye be aſſured, that, in the "revolutions which ſo rapidly take place in popular opinion, "the ſanguinary diſpoſitions ye are thus endeavouring to "excite may not recoil upon yourſelves. Perhaps the time "may not be diſtant, when thoſe who have taught this leſſon "may be the victims to it; and repent, too late, that turbu-"lent malignity they have taken ſo much pains to encourage!" —If we turn our attention to the loyal town of *Birmingham*, ſhall we not find this prophecy is partly verified already? Having wreaked their vengeance on thoſe who refuſed to think upon religious and political topics as they dictated, they have now thought that they might do the ſame on thoſe that did not chooſe to ſell proviſions at the price they demanded them.—But it is not to one or two, it is not to half a dozen places that theſe diſturbances have been confined: and we cannot but have reaſon to dread the dangerous conſequences which may reſult to the peace and tranquillity of ſociety, from the ſtill remaining ſeeds of theſe commotions.—Citizens, if people are not to be ſhewn that reaſon is better than violence, and peaceful enquiry better than turbulence and the ſword, however we may lament theſe deluſions, however ſorry we may be to find that mankind cannot perceive that the calamities of a nation are not to be amended by pulling down a mill, or gutting a crimping-houſe, violence muſt be expected, whenever popular diſtreſs prevails.

Let us ſee, then, if there are no means to prevent theſe calamities. If there is ſomething in the ſtate and policy of the country that can be proved to be the cauſe of theſe diſturbances, ſurely we ought to pity, rather than abhor the diſturbers,

disturbers, and to wish that, instead of punishing these individuals, we could find other means of removing the occasion of the evil. Finding, as we must find, that insurrections are never produced in any country, without a gloomy and ferocious opinion having first been produced in the minds of the people, that *they have nothing to lose* by their imprudent conduct.

Let us then review the state of society, and endeavour to develope the cause of the evil; and then consider how we are to procure the remedy. We shall soon find, I believe, that though coercion seems to be one of the readiest ways of correcting offences, yet that it is never the best; that bodies of men, of whatever description, who have been decimated by the arm of chastisement, are not the better for such severity; and that, by such punishment, we aggravate, not remove, the evil we wish to cure.

This is not a Jacobinical sentiment, Citizens, from the school of French philosophers. It is a maxim laid down by one of the greatest philosophers of this country, Lord *Bacon* of *Verulam*, who (in his *Essays*, *page* 77) says, "Neither doth "it follow, that because these *Fames* are a sign of *Trou-* "*bles*, that the suppressing of them, with too much severity, "should be a remedy of *Troubles*."—Citizens, we have found that it is no remedy. Our gaols have been crowded, and Botany Bay has been peopled with individuals who were ornaments to society, and who have been subjected to cruel punishments for offences without a name; and we have poor unfortunate beings languishing under cruel sentences, upon charges of the most frivolous kind. Witness the heavy sentence passed upon poor *Watson*, for being proved to have sitten in the same box at an eating-house with a person whom a French emigrant spy swore to have delivered a hand-bill to him—and poor *Barrow*, a young man of education, of parts and expectations, not only now languishing in confinement, but reduced to such misery by persecution and hard treatment, as to depend for his support upon casual charity. Have their punishments so damped the rising spirit of the people, as to lead us to expect that contentment and tranquillity are to be restored by such coercion?

If you want further illustration, look to a neighbouring country: take a short review of the state of *Ireland*. Are coercion and punishment, persecution and dragooning, from this picture, so devoutly to be wished?

A *Con-*

A *Conventional Bill* was paſſed, to prevent the people of *Ireland* from meeting peaceably together, to ſeek a redreſs of grievances. What was the conſequence of this Convention Bill? their own ſtatement ſhall be my reply; they tell you that plans of treaſon have grown up, in ſecret holes and corners, under the name of *defenderiſm*; do you want a more concluſive argument, that when you prevent the progreſs of reaſon and inveſtigation, you drive mankind to projects of violence and diſtraction, which never elſe would have entered their heads. When theſe lurking diſcontents, then, are afloat, throw not the individual into the gloom of concealment and fear. Let him ſpeak his griefs in the wide circle of ſociety; let him ſee the honeſt faces of his fellow beings; and he will bluſh at the idea of harbouring intentions hoſtile to the peace and happineſs of man. He will be obliged to uſe his reaſon inſtead of attempting violence, and thus by free, open, and manly inveſtigation, though a herd of venal Miniſters may be hurled from their ſeats, yet peace, happineſs, and virtue (the fair fruits that ripen on the tree of enquiry) will impart their chearing influence through the land.

But, Citizens, this is not all. Severity will recoil on thoſe who make uſe of it. When you employ force and coercion, the inſtruments of the ſyſtem ſo unwiſely adopted may do you more miſchief than you dreaded, even from thoſe againſt whom theſe inſtruments were employed. Of this, if report ſays true, we have a very melancholy inſtance in the tranſactions that have taken place relative to the ſoldiery in *Cork*. Soldiers were firſt enliſted for what is called the internal defence—that is to ſay to ſupport the ſyſtem of coercion at home, and theſe it appears were afterwards obliged to embark on board certain veſſels, contrary to the terms on which they were enliſted, to carry on the ſyſtem of coercion abroad—To this the troops demurred; the Government became alarmed, at the turbulence and threats of its own favourite agents; and other ſoldiers were obliged to be poured into the city, to coerce theſe inſtruments of coercion, and compel them to embark. What (if report is to be truſted) has been the conſequence? The very troops brought into *Cork*, to compel theſe ſoldiers to depart to a foreign country, become the ſcourges of that city and its affrighted neighbourhood—and humanity ſhudders at the recapitulation of their exceſſes. The Morning Poſt of yeſterday ſtates the circumſtance I allude to in brief—that " the moſt ſhocking atrocities have " been committed. Rape, pillage, murder, and every cru-

" elty, are ſaid to have been practiſed on the peaceable in-
" habitants."

This intelligence reſts, it ſeems, upon the credit of the Iriſh papers; it has been detailed not only in the *Cork Gazette*, but alſo in the *Hibernian Journal*: and in the *Morning Chronicle* and *Telegraph* they have given a much fuller account than I have ſtated. *The Times* have not been ſilent upon the ſubject; they preſume this day to contradict the report they gave yeſterday; and *the Briton* juſt pretends to doubt it. But it is ſcarcely poſſible, that a paper, printed in ſo ſmall a city as *Cork*, where the inhabitant of one part could not long remain ignorant of what paſſes in another, could have admitted ſo circumſtantial an account as is there given, if there were no truth in it. Be this as it will, whether this part of the inſtance can be ſupported by good evidence, or whether it cannot, the general reaſoning, which is more to my purpoſe, is not affected. Nothing can be more evident than that violence has a tendency to beget violence; and that coercion is an inſtrument which, like the flail, is apt to recoil upon the heads of thoſe who uſe it. So that thoſe who foſter the ſyſtem, frequently, in the end, are the victims of the errors they have adopted.

Let us then, Citizens, wiſely conclude that redreſs is better than puniſhment: and that all *pretended cures*, that do not eradicate the evil, are in reality aggravations rather than remedies. You ſtifle, by quackery, for a while, the flame of diſeaſe; but, if the glowing embers remain behind, it will burſt out again; and the relapſe is more dangerous than the original diſtemper. Nay ſometimes, from miſmanagement, the Doctor himſelf is the worſt part of the diſeaſe. So in political caſes, if there are exiſting grievances in the country, if there are real calamities, and thoſe calamities are deeply ſeated in the corruptions which have ſtolen in and contaminated the vitals of its Conſtitution; let us be well aſſured, that ſo long as you refuſe to reform thoſe abuſes, though gallowſes ſhould be erected in every ſtreet, you only compel thoſe whom you wiſh to coerce, to make you ſtill go on further in violence and coercion, till, at laſt, your ſyſtem becomes ſo odious in the eyes of mankind, that humanity can tolerate it no longer.

Lord *Bacon*, whom I quoted before, has a very emphatic obſervation in the aforeſaid eſſay, which is very much to my purpoſe; and therefore I quote it to you: and ſome perſons may, perhaps, be more diſpoſed to pay attention to the maxim when

when it is presented in the language of a philosopher of the *sixteenth*, than in that of a political lecturer of the *eighteenth* century. "The surest way," says he, (p. 80.) "to prevent "seditions (if the times do bear it,) is to take away the mat-"ter of them; for if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell "whence the spark shall come that shall set it on fire." And, to shew how unwise it is to trust to any of these imperfect and quack remedies, (whether of coercion, or what not,) which produce a temporary suppression of these discontents, without *removing the causes* of them, he also very justly observes, (p. 82.) "Neither let any prince or state be secure concerning discon-"tentments, because they have been often, or have been "long, and yet no peril hath ensued; for as it is true that "every vapour or fume doth not turn into a storm, so it is "nevertheless true, that storms, though they blow over di-"vers times, yet may fall at last, and, as the Spanish pro-"verb noteth well, *the cord breaketh at the last by the weakest* "*pull.*" Let us then remember that, if coercion had even been successful, yet we ought to consider the sedition as stifled, not as quelled; and the very success of the system would be a sort of argument against its continuance.

If then it be only by removing the causes of discontents that seditions and troubles can be prevented, let us proceed to enquire what these causes are. In doing this, I shall have to dwell in particular on the picture of the condition of the lower orders of society. I shall then trace this misery to its immediate cause—the inadequate rewards of labour; the scandalous disproportion between which, and the prices of the necessaries of life, I shall shew to be rendered still more calamitous to the common people, by the decline of that system of liberality and hospitality which was once the boast of the English nobility and the great proprietors of the land, ere every claim to liberality and real grandeur yielded to the inroads of Corruption, Luxury, and Licentiousness. I shall afterwards have occasion to take into consideration the national debt, and the constantly increasing burthen of taxes—those fruits of the blessed system of Corruption, which it has lately been thought high treason to assail. The disgraceful system of *Rotten Boroughs* will not pass without its share of animadversion in this discussion;—a system which has done so much towards debauching the morals of every class of men, from the most wealthy aristocrat who revels in luxurious splendor, to the poorest peasant who toils like a slave in the fields to support the imperious grandeur that tramples him.

in the duſt.—I ſhall then endeavour to point out the connexion between them, and the tendency which all theſe cauſes have had to produce fermentation, inſtead of tranquillity, in the public mind. I ſhall alſo endeavour to ſhew, that, if immediate reform do not remove the danger, we are on the brink of calamities ſtill more grievous;—calamities from which, I believe, we have no other means to redeem ourſelves, than by promoting a thorough reform in the repreſentation of the people, and procuring a reſtoration of the popular right in the appointment of their reſpective agents of the conſtitution.

You will perceive, at once, that it is impoſſible I ſhould go through the whole of this extenſive ſubject in one night; and it may be taken for granted, that there will be conſiderable inequalities in the manner in which I ſhall handle the reſpective parts. No man can periodically command that energy of mind, and flow of ſpirits, neceſſary to give full force and expreſſion to the ideas he wiſhes to inculcate; but, from the maſs of materials which I have collected, I think I may venture to promiſe thus much,—that each of the Lectures, into which I ſhall divide this ſubject, will contain at leaſt ſome facts not unworthy of your attention, and which may tend to throw ſome degree of light on the ſubject I am treating.

I proceed, then, immediately to conſider the part of the ſubject intended for the preſent evening; namely, the immediate Cauſe of the exiſting Diſturbances.—This immediate Cauſe, I believe, we have found to be the diſtreſſes among the *lower orders of the community*; for ſo, according to the preſent ſyſtem, we are to regard thoſe worthy and excellent members of the community, the real pillars of the ſtate, by whoſe toil we are fed, and by whoſe valour we are protected.

That the diſtreſſes and miſery of the people are the principal cauſes that produce diſturbances, is a fact which has been diſcovered and laid down by the philoſophers of elder times. *Bacon*, in particular, (p. 80.) ſays, that "the *matter of ſeditions* "is of two kinds—*much poverty*, and *much diſcontentment*."—Pleaſe to obſerve, that this is a little contrary to the maxims of modern ariſtocrats. Our drivers would perſuade us, that the only way to keep the Labourer in proper ſubordination, is to keep him poor and miſerable. To retain the wretched low-born herd in a ſtate of abſolute vaſſalage, is the only way, ſay they, to preſerve the peace; and they can only be ſo retained by penury and ignorance. But how is this illuſtrated

by

by preſent experience? It is long, I believe very long, ſince ſo general a diſpoſition to turbulence has manifeſted itſelf among this common herd, as they are called; and yet it is equally long, I believe, ſince ſo large a portion of them went with hungry bellies.

For further illuſtration, let us look again to *Ireland*. Is not *Ireland*, according to miniſterial accounts, in a ſtate yet more alarming? and yet *Ireland* is in ſtill greater ignorance and miſery than England. In ſhort, if it were not for the extreme aſſurance with which theſe doctrines (or arguments which in reality amount to theſe doctrines) are frequently advanced, by unfeeling Greatneſs and its ruffian retainers, they would not be worth the formality of refutation. For if it is really true, and I ſhould ſuppoſe nothing leſs than a Prime Miniſter could have the blindneſs to doubt it, that a tradeſman would be better pleaſed with the government of the country, when he is getting rich under its protection, than when war and taxation are driving him to bankruptcy, and his family to a workhouſe, how is it poſſible that the diſcontents of the people ſhould be proportioned to the cauſes they have to be well contented? And if theſe maxims of ſtate, ſo inceſſantly reiterated by *Pittites* and *Burkites*, *Reevites* and *Wyndhamites*, are indeed ſupported by the experience of mankind, how came that fooliſh dreaming philoſopher, Lord *Bacon*, to be held in ſuch eſteem? And how comes it that, in the midſt of this general miſery that devours us, the people are ſo far from being the tame and complacent beings they are wiſhed, that *Engliſh ſoldiers* can no longer be truſted to keep *Engliſhmen* in order—nor *Iriſh ſoldiers*, *Iriſhmen*—nor *Scotch*, *Scots*; but that you muſt juggle and ſhuffle them together, like a pack of cards in the hands of a ſwindling gameſter, in hopes that the knaves of one ſuit may knab the better cards of another?

But let us return to this ſometime-thought philoſopher Bacon. This ſame fooliſh dreaming politician ſays (*Eſſays*, *p.* 31.) "And if this poverty and broken eſtate, in the better "ſort, be joined with a want and neceſſity in the mean "people, the danger is imminent, and great. For the re-"bellions of the belly are the worſt!"—*The rebellions of the belly the worſt!*—Strange deluſion!—Why, it ſhould ſeem that this ſuppoſed philoſopher Bacon would not have been able to underſtand the ſublime policy of reducing ten millions of people to the brink of famine in one country, in order at once to pinch and wring all ſedition out of their ſtomachs, and effect the ſtarvation of twenty-four millions more in another.

Again,

Again, this ſame muſty philoſopher, among other things, ſeems as if he were bent upon the mad and fooliſh project of perſuading miniſters that it is dangerous to levy too much money upon the people by the impoſition of taxes. This part of his argument, however, if it ever had any weight, muſt have leſs and leſs every year—leſs, for example, this, than the laſt; for though the demands have become ſo much greater, yet there is reaſon to believe their actual levy will be ſomewhat leſs; and, if things go on in their preſent career, I believe, by and by, we ſhall have no cauſe of complaint of this ſort: we ſhall pay no taxes at all, having nothing left to pay them with; for you know, Citizens, I have frequently had occaſion to ſhew you, that, however freely *John Bull* may bleed, and however patient an animal he may be, he cannot poſſibly have more blood taken from his veins than there is in them.

Bacon, however, goes on to obſerve, that "the cauſes and "motions of ſedition are *innovation* in *religion*;"—or, he might have added, political excluſions on account of religious opinions.—"Taxes, alterations of laws and cuſtoms" (ſuch for inſtance, as making *Truth* a *libel*, and *Argument high treaſon*, in open defiance of the ſtatute of the 25th Edward III. *the only Law* of Treaſons to which we ought to pay any attention!) "the alterations of cuſtoms," (ſuch as the introduction of ſyſtems of inquiſition, that fill every houſe with ſpies, and every corner of the ſtreets with informers, and thus ſubjecting a once free people to the moſt deteſtable ſlavery of the worſt parts of *Italy!*) "Alterations of cuſtoms; breaking of privileges; general oppreſſion; advancement of unworthy perſons,"—(ſuch, for example, as making a mere *Who wants me?* one of the principal miniſters of ſtate; or a ſleepy-headed booby of a lord, who cannot ſay *Boo!* to a gooſe, even when he ſees his own ſhadow in a looking-glaſs, First Lord of the Admiralty,

"At that damned board, where yet he ne'er could learn
"Of ſhips the difference 'twixt the head and ſtern."

merely on account of family relationſhip.

To theſe cauſes, *Bacon* adds "Dearths, Diſbanded Sol-"diers," and the like.

Now, Citizens, of the circumſtances thus mentioned as cauſes of ſeditions, troubles and inſurrections, a great part, at

at leaſt, appear to exiſt in this country at this time. I think, therefore, if theſe axioms are all put together, the concluſion will be, that the way to reſtore peace to ſociety is, not to ſtring men together by dozens, who never ſaw each other's faces, in indictments for imaginary treaſons—it is not to make Pop-gun Plots and Game-cock Seditions—it is not by theſe, but by timely and radical reformation of exiſting abuſes, that peace and tranquillity are to be reſtored: and, though you may keep the common people ignorant of principles, and the true means of redreſs, by theſe coercive meaſures, you cannot keep them ignorant of the extent of the evil, inaſmuch as relates to the miſery they ſuffer.

It is a great miſtake of miniſters and ariſtocrats to ſuppoſe, or *pretend*, that ſeditious declaimers can make men believe they are miſerable, when in reality they are happy. I ſhould like, for my part, for the curioſity of it, to hear the man whoſe eloquence could perſuade a man who had juſt filled his belly that he was ſtill very hungry; or could convince the peaſant, who was half famiſhed, that there was no occaſion for him to taſte food.—As for puniſhing ſeditious declaimers, as they are called, for pointing out the *cauſes* of the calamities, (which indeed is all that argument can do,) you might as well puniſh the phyſician for pointing out to his patient the cauſes of his diſorder, as if the diſcovery of the origin were in reality the creation of the diſeaſe.

A few diſturbed imaginations may, perhaps, be agitated here and there—a few fantaſtic individuals may be found, who will credit falſehoods, becauſe dreſſed in the garb of declamation: but theſe are too few, too ſlighty, and too frivolous, to give any rational alarm; and I believe it is equally impoſſible for all the declaimers in the world to make the people believe they are miſerable, while they are living in eaſe and abundance, as it is for all the eloquence of the Treaſury Bench to convince them that they are happy and flouriſhing, when they are in a ſtate of abſolute ſtarvation.

But it is ſaid, that it is clear that theſe ſeditions proceed from mere infatuation and artful deluſion, becauſe they always begin with the ignorant and common people, who are evidently moſt eaſily played upon.—Hear what Dr. *Davenant* ſays on this ſubject: "the common people are the firſt to "*complain* of miſgovernment, and the firſt to *feel* the bad ef-"fects of it; long wars are carried on at the expence of "their blood; heavy taxes pinch them moſt; revenues are

"miſmanaged

"misſmanaged at their coſt; they ſooneſt feel the decay of "trade, and the nation's poverty." *Pol Works, vol. 2. p. 57.* This was the language of an honeſt Member of Parliament, at the beginning of the reign of Queen Anne: for then we ſometimes had an honeſt Member of Parliament: and though I believe there are many politic l errors in his writings, yet they breathe this ſort of conviction, that the way really to enrich the country is not to throw all advantages into the hands of a few individuals, but to make the majority comfortable and happy: and that having thus laid the foundation of general proſperity, you may then build your ſuperſtructure of national grandeur, without fear of its tumbling into ruin.

Do you want any evidence of the truth of the paſſage I have juſt quoted? If you do, let me appeal to the city of *Norwich*; that once flouriſhing mart of trade and manufacture. The number of inhabitants is eſtimated at only 40,000, and yet 25,000 of theſe have been obliged to claim relief from the hand of charity; the poor rates are twelve or thirteen ſhillings in the pound. Remember, it is upon the middling orders of ſociety that the great burthen of this oppreſſion falls; it being very eaſily proved that, in every large city, the rich furniſh a much ſmaller proportion of the maintenance of the poor than the middling orders; becauſe the rich live together in the ſame neighbourhoods, while the poor and middling orders are huddled together, and therefore the pariſhes in which the rich are not to be found, are thoſe in general which have the heavieſt poor's rate to pay. But this rate, heavy as it is, is not the whole of the burthen. There have been voluntary ſubſcriptions, alſo, to a very large amount, to afford charitable relief to the poor of this city. But what is this which we call charity? What is this oſtentation of humanity which enrols our names in liſts of ſubſcription and builds palaces for the reception of our poor? What do we do more, after all, than a *partial* act of *Juſtice*? What do we more (to confeſs the fact in plain and ſimple terms) than render in oſtentation a pretended charity, a part of that compenſation to uſeful induſtry, the whole of which we are called upon by juſtice to afford?—It is the duty of every member of ſociety to ſee that the laborious claſſes of mankind are enabled to maintain themſelves, in comfort and abundance, by their labours; and ſhame, ſhame on that Being who can call himſelf a man, while, wallowing himſelf in wealth and ſuperfluity, he ſuffers thoſe from whoſe labour every thing is derived,

rived, to pine in abject penury and diſtreſs. Short of this, all that we call charity is inſult; and even this is nothing more than juſtice.

I remember I was once talking to a friend of the charity and benevolence exhibited in this country, when ſtopping me with a ſarcaſtic ſneer, "Yes," ſays he, "we ſteal the gooſe, "and we give back the giblets." "No," ſaid the third perſon, who was ſtanding by, "giblets are much too dainty "for the common herd, we give them only the pen "feathers."

But Norwich is not the only place in which this miſery prevails; in the pariſh of *Mary-le-bone*, as I am informed by an inhabitant of that diſtrict, ſeven hundred and fifty families, no one of which ever received charity before, were obliged to claim relief from the contributions ſet on foot there, during one week in January laſt. Now if this is not an inſtance of growing miſery and calamity, I ſhould be glad to know what is.

Nor is the evil of a partial nature. Let any old man, who has been uſed to view the ſtate of ſociety for years, call to his recollection the very different appearance which the children of labourers and mechanics wear now from what they did in former times. Let me ſend you, for example, to the eaſt end of the town—to the neighbourhood of Spital-fields. Even in my ſhort remembrance, bare-foot ragged children loitering about in that part of the town were very rare: and I had ſome opportunities of obſervation; having been in my boyiſh days intended for a trade connected with the manufacture carried on in that part of the town.

Citizens, this wretchedneſs is not confined to children only: for, to the honour of human nature be it ſpoken, for one inſtance of an inhuman unfeeling parent you have at leaſt ten who will debar themſelves of the common neceſſaries of life, that their children may have ſuch comfort as their ſcanty lot will afford them.

I remember the time, myſelf, when a man who was a tolerable workman in the fields, had generally, beſides the apartment in which he carried on his vocation, a ſmall ſummer houſe and a narrow ſlip of a garden, at the outſkirts of the town, where he ſpent his *Monday*, either in flying his pidgeons, or raiſing his tulips. But thoſe gardens are now fallen into decay. The little ſummer-houſe and the Monday's recreation are no more; and you will find the poor weavers and their families crowded together in vile, filthy and unwholeſome chambers, deſtitute of the moſt common comforts,

and even of the common neceſſaries of life. This, it is true, is in part to be attributed to the caprices of faſhion and the decline in the conſumption of ſilk goods. But it ariſes ſtill more eminently from there being no ſet of men in the repreſentative branch of the legiſlature, who feel it their intereſt, and particularly duty, to look to the condition of the common people, and preſerve a juſt proportion between the price of their wages and the price of the neceſſaries of life. They are languiſhing in miſery, want and diſtreſs! But methinks I hear ſome great and mighty ruler, or ſome friend of theſe great and mighty rulers, demand what buſineſs have theſe wretches to make holiday every Monday? I anſwer, juſt as much as thoſe who put the queſtion have to make holiday every day in the week.—I know very well that there muſt be gradations in ſociety, but the more imperceptible thoſe gradations the better; and certainly I could wiſh to ſee none ſo low, ſo loſt in the depths of miſery and oppreſſion, that no comfort or enjoyment is left to them; even the conſequence of their amelioration ſhould be that none ſhould be lifted ſo high as to be out of the reach of reſponſibility or juſtice. I wiſh not to impreſs any ideas of equalizing property; but I wiſh every man to feel that the bluſh of ſhame and conſcious guilt ſhould riſe on his cheek, when he wallows in luxury at the expence of thoſe but for whoſe labour neither luxury nor abundance could exiſt.

Citizens, I ſhall not dwell upon details at this time; nor delineate the pictures of miſery I have witneſſed. Let me employ the few minutes, during which I ſhall detain you, in removing from your minds ſome of thoſe prejudices which are ſo frequently played upon, in order to prevent the humane, and benevolent from exerting themſelves with generous enthuſiaſm in behalf of this oppreſſed and injured part of the community. We are told, forſooth, that the miſeries and calamities of the lower orders ariſe from their own untoward diſpoſitions—that their profligacy, drunkenneſs, and luxury are ſuch that amendment is impoſſible.

Oh Citizens! Citizens! can this charge poſſibly be examined for a moment and be believed? Are you really ſo loſt in prejudice as to ſuppoſe that there exiſts any difference between man and man, but that which ſprings from the accident that lifts one on high and depreſſes another? Could the poor labourer have been put to his own free choice, he would, perhaps, rather have been the offſpring of ſome of thoſe high and wealthy potentates, who now look down upon him with contempt. But he was born to a ſituation which made labour

neceſſary

neceſſary for his ſubſiſtence: and if he has fallen upon times that make labour diſhonourable—if he has fallen upon times when miſery is the portion of the labourer, theſe are his misfortunes not his faults!

Citizens, that there are particular vices which belong to the lower orders of ſociety, for the ſake of argument, I will for a moment admit. But if it be ſo whence does it proceed? Does not the very ſtatement point out their degradation and depreſſion as the cauſe of theſe vices?—Remove then the cauſe and the effect will ceaſe. But this depravity, it is ſaid, is conſtantly increaſing; and the preſent generation, ſo loud in their cry for reform, are more depraved, as individuals, than any that have gone before. If it be really ſo—if we are really to conſider the laborious claſſes of the preſent generation as more profligate than thoſe of preceding ages, let us aſcribe the phenomenon to its real cauſe—to the corruption among thoſe who direct the government of the country, and the conſequent increaſe of miſery among the people; and let us remember that this, inſtead of an objection, is an additional argument in favour of immediate reform.

But, Citizens, let us compare theſe claſſes with the higher orders of ſociety; and I believe the labouring poor will find no occaſion to bluſh at the compariſon. Look firſt of all below you, Citizens; and then look above: nay look as high as you pleaſe. Caſt your eyes to the very top of the ladder; and tell me what reaſon you have to believe that thoſe, who ſtand upon the very higheſt ſpokes, have any original advantages, either of intellect or virtue, over thoſe who hold all ſafe at the bottom. If no evidence of ſuch *original* difference exiſt, the immediate concluſion is, that any ſubſequent difference, if real, muſt ſpring from the neglect and depreſſion we are endeavouring to rectify; and, conſequently, that we ought to lend all our efforts, heart and hand, to prevent mankind from being thruſt below as we now behold them.

Let us then, Citizens, diſdain that narrow-minded prejudice, which firſt of all reduces men to miſery, and then reproaches them with crimes which that miſery produced. Remember that it is our duty to promote the happineſs of our fellow beings, and to give them the opportunity of living in more comfort, of receiving more information; and that thus we ſhall improve at once their individual happineſs, and thoſe moral feelings from which the happineſs of others may be improved.

No man makes uſe of the argument I have juſt attempted to controvert, but he thereby confeſſes, that the only way to prevent mankind from being profligate and depraved

praved, is to mend their condition in ſociety; and this amendment can, I believe, only be effected by a reformation of the political abuſes that have crept into our conſtitution; and reſtoring to the people their unalienable and conſtitutional rights of annual Parliaments and univerſal ſuffrage.

THE STATE COACH.

The following article appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* 29*th Sept.* It is not now tranſplanted into this corner in exultation at the partial fulfilment of this prophecy, in the laſt ſtanza. No man more ſeriouſly deprecates violence than myſelf: for no man is more aware how anxious Corruption is to make the actions of the worſt men a pretence for deſtroying the beſt. The only reaſon for reprinting it, in addition to its convenience for filling up the page, is that it unfolds the real cauſe of the violence and commotions by which the nation has been afflicted. J. T.

YOUR Coach of State doth lack repair—
How could it laſt ſo long without it!
Your Coachman, BILL, beſtows no care,
But might and main reſolves to ſcout it.

Into the *filthieſt mire* he daſhes,
Where none but *Swine* unclean would welter;
Through *thick and thin* JOHN BULL he laſhes,
The State-Coach follows helter-ſkelter:

Its *ſprings* are broke, its *wheels* are clogg'd,
The body totters on its axis;
Yet onward ſtill JOHN BULL is flogg'd,
And drags a world of debt and taxes.

Acroſs him HAL Poſtillion rides,
And laughs, and ſwears, and jokes, and ſpurs him;
The beaſt bemoans his galled ſides,—
HAL chinks his gold, nor ſtops to curſe him.

BILL, not content, a pack of thieves
Next hires (their names I need not tell ye),
To worry BULL an order gives,
Some *fleece* his back, ſome *pinch* his belly.

A gang of *Foreign Sharpers* too,
To rob the Coach with ſkill contend;
BILL's thanks to each, he owns, are due,
The greater rogue, the more *his* friend.—

Full many a ſage diſcreet forewarns
Raſh BILLY of impending danger,
Reminds the *youth* that *Bulls have horns*—
That to their uſe JOHN BULL's *no ſtranger*.

That ſhould he fall among the *Swine*,
The *greedy* hogs might overpow'r him;
Beſmear'd with dirt, and *ſoaked in wine*,
As ſav'ry food, they might devour him.

In vain—BILL ſcorns to quit the box
Till BULL enrag'd ſhall turn his tether;
And then—*who'll wonder if he knocks*
State-Coach and Driver down together!

THE TRIBUNE, No. XXX.

On the Cauſes of the CALAMITIES and DISTURBANCES that afflict the Nation. *Part the Second—Including a Vindication of the moral* CHARACTER *of the* LABORIOUS POOR, *againſt the inſulting Calumnies of their* OPPRESSORS; with *Sketches of the ſtarving Miſery of the* BRITISH PEASANTRY. Delivered at the LECTURE ROOM, *Sept.* 25, 1795.

CITIZENS,

I Concluded the Lecture on Wedneſday evening with ſome animadverſions on the calumnies which are ſo frequently thrown on the character of the lower orders of ſociety. But it appears to me that it is not right to paſs over that part of my ſubject, in ſo ſlight a manner; becauſe thoſe who wiſh to prevent a further diffuſion of the rights and liberties of mankind, and of the knowledge neceſſary to ſuch diffuſion, have generally ſheltered themſelves under this ſubterfuge—that the vices and depravity of the common people render it totally impoſſible for them to be benefited by more liberal inſtitutions; and would refer to this want of morality among theſe claſſes, all thoſe diſturbances which occaſionally break out in this and every other country.

Let us then examine this ſubject, and ſee how far theſe calumnies are well founded: becauſe, if it be really true, that the induſtrious part of the community are perſons unworthy of the ſame advantages with others, a great part of my arguments will fall to the ground; and I ſhall not be able to prove that the late diſturbances have entirely originated in the calamities of the country; and that the calamities have originated in the corruptions which have crept into the ſtate and ſapped the foundation of all that is dear and glorious in the conſtitution of Britain.

Let us compare a little the moral character of this deſpiſed, oppreſſed, and injured part of our fellow beings, with

the other claſſes of ſociety: and if we find that they are by no means that ſet of beings which their oppreſſors are anxious to repreſent them; but that vices and virtues are common to all the different orders of ſociety, we ſhall be bound to pronounce this judgment—that if they are even worſe than thoſe who abuſe them, it muſt ariſe ſimply from the circumſtance of their depreſſion; and that if they are not worſe, they have a right to ſome indulgence, for if we can bear the vices of the great, we ought alſo to bear with the vices of the little, eſpecially when we conſider that they are made ſo little by the vices and oppreſſions of the former.

Admitting, I ſay, for the preſent, that the moral character of the laborious orders of ſociety is in reality worſe than that of the other ranks, what concluſion could poſſibly be drawn from this, unleſs another concluſion could be linked with it, that it was inherent in the nature of their being, and did not ſpring from their ſituation; and that therefore we ought to conſider it as the diſpenſation of Povidence, that thoſe who bore this original ſin about them ſhould be hewers of wood and drawers of water, while thoſe who look no more like men than themſelves, but who have a certain ariſtocracy of intellect and moral feeling infuſed into them by the divine ſpirit of tranſmitted property, or the magic influence of hereditary inſtitutions, are thus lifted to a rank to which the more unfortunate plebeian can have no claim.

But can we believe that the laborious part of mankind are more depraved than their indolent *ſuperiors?* or can we believe the old woman's cant with which our nurſeries and our pulpits are continually reſounding, that the world is growing worſe and worſe? and that depravity is growing upon us, day after day, till every thing but the ſhow of man is loſt?

If we were really to admit this original difference of claſſes, if we really ſaw that marrying with a plebeian brought forth only a brood of mules, who could never afterwards perpetuate their race, ariſtocracy, indeed might arrogate ſomething from the argument. But if this cannot be ſupported, then what force is there in the objection about the depravity of the laborious poor, but what muſt ſupport my ſide of the queſtion, inſtead of that in which it is advanced. This would indeed ſhew us the moſt odious picture of the ſyſtem of ſtarvation, for it would prove, that this depreſſion is equally fatal to the morals and the condition of man.

They

They muſt be kept in ſubjection, we are told; we muſt not pamper their appetites, for fear they ſhould grow inſolent and unruly, believe no longer what the prieſt aſſerts, nor do any longer what their lordly maſters command. But, if it is true that the peaſantry of the preſent day are not to be compared for moral virtue and good demeanor, with thoſe of the glorious days of the good queen Beſs, as ſhe is called, how does all this hold together?—It has been proved from this Tribune, that, at the beginning of her reign, the common price of one day's labour was equal to the price of two fat pigs, whereas now no fat pig is ever permitted to ſmoak in the noſtrils of the profane multitude. And yet ariſtocrats tell us, that turbulence, diſſatisfaction, and immorality, are much more common now, than in thoſe days of inſolent proſperity and abundance.—If it is alſo true that ſoldiers, in the time of *Edward* the Third, were leſs diſpoſed to mutiny than at preſent, here is another moſt bleſſed proof of the benign influence of the ſyſtem of Starvation; for the ſoldiers have been alſo proved, by hiſtorical quotations, to have received at that time equal to what five ſhillings per day would have been fifty years ago, (which was the time when *Hume* wrote,) and equal therefore to conſiderably more at this time. If therefore they be, as is aſſerted, more unruly and turbulent at preſent than formerly, where are the bleſſed conſequences of the preſent ſyſtem of depreſſing them lower and lower?—If, in ſhort, the lower claſſes be leſs worthy of eſteem and veneration than they were in former ages, this is an incontrovertible argument why you ſhould deviſe meaſures to reſtore them once more to that comfort they formerly enjoyed, and which ought now to be ſtill more amply diſpenſed, under the improved, glorious, flouriſhing, and happy conſtitution, under which, ſince the Revolution in 1688, we have ſo boaſtfully lived.

But, Citizens, the whole of this calumny is totally unfounded. It is not true, that, in the language of Spencer,

> "This world is winding, in a common courſe,
> "From good to bad, from bad to that is worſe."

It is not true, that the common claſs of mankind have all this aggravated vice to anſwer for. The fact is, that the moral characters of men are ſtamped, not by the quantity of reward they receive for their labour, but by the degree of information which is prevalent among them.

Brutality and violence will be the prevailing feature of every people, in what country, ſoil, or climate ſoever, where man is nurſed in ignorance. There turbulent paſſions will be his only guide; and acting only from that ſtimulus, he will be raiſed but little above the level of the brute, who, ſtung by hunger, roves from place to place, ſeeking what he may devour. This is the characteriſtic of Ignorance and Barbariſm: and, if you look at the early hiſtory of this and every country, you will find the moſt incontrovertible evidence of the truth of the picture. But, when the ſun of Reaſon begins to dawn—when the light of Truth diffuſes itſelf over the land—that Truth, whoſe hand maid is Virtue, and whoſe offspring is Liberty—the moral character of nations, generally ſpeaking, is conſiderably improved.

I am very well aware, that there are certain circumſtances that counterbalance this tendency to moral improvement, with reſpect to particular claſſes and individuals: I am well aware, that it is not uniformly the caſe, that the man who is moſt enlightened will have the beſt moral character. Not inſtruction itſelf can always counteract the ill effects of baneful inſtitutions, which diſpoſe men to a liſtleſsneſs of diſpoſition, unnerve the ſoul, and plunge the apparently favoured being into a ſink of vice, degeneracy and corruption, more odious than all the barbarous ignorance of the moſt uncultivated ages.

I do not, therefore, mean to apply the argument I am now making uſe of, to individuals univerſally, nor to the higher orders of ſociety. With them, the improvement of intellect has long been at a ſtand, and morality has been long declining; becauſe they are curſed with the debilitating conviction that they can command outward reſpect at leaſt, knee-worſhip, and tongue-ſervice, without either thoſe virtues, or that wiſdom, which is neceſſary to lift the plebeian from the duſt, and procure him that eſteem which is the wiſh of every honeſt and generous mind.

Citizens, it will be my attempt to prove, during this courſe of lectures, that the preſent inſtitutions of ſociety are equally baneful to the virtue and to the happineſs of the higher, as of the lower, orders of ſociety: thoſe inſtitutions, which trample the poor labourer into the duſt of inſult, ſlavery, and cruel injuſtice, contaminate the heart, debauch the underſtanding, and undermine the principles of thoſe proud oppreſſors, who ſwell to unwieldy opulence by their depreſſion and wretchedneſs.

Yet,

Yet, in defiance of the exceptions which ariſe from theſe cauſes, the maxim I have laid down will hold good. The nation that is moſt enlightened will poſſeſs the greateſt quantity of virtue. It may alſo poſſeſs the greateſt quantity of vice, among thoſe few who are privileged beyond the neceſſities of mental exertion and moral rectitude: as was the caſe in France. There, one of the moſt conſpicuous conſequences of intelligence, and refinement, was, for a long time, that a large body of proud luxurious beings, decorated with titles (as if the only intention was to ſhew how inſignificant titles are, and to what beings they can ſometimes belong) were privileged to trample every ſacred principle of morality and juſtice under foot, and to grind the people to powder under the mill-ſtones of their oppreſſion. Such, indeed, were the *nobles* of enlightened France—O! moſt ignoble beings indeed! for 70,000 of them, we are told, ran away at once, terrified by the grim and formidable countenances of the enraged *Sans Culottes*, and came crying to England, begging and praying that the Ariſtocrats of this country would plunge into a mad and ridiculous cruſade, which may ſend them, perhaps, ere long, to Ruſſia or Arabia on the ſame errand.—You will remember, Citizens, that I am prophecying, and not praying: it is the inſpiration of the prophetic ſpirit that I yield to, not the fervour of devout petition for the fulfilment of the prediction. That ſuch an intelligent, virtuous, enlightened, uſeful order of men, as the nobility of this country, ſhould be ſent packing, it is impoſſible that I ſhould ever wiſh. No, Citizens, let us but get rid of our placemen, our penſioners, our ſycophants, our commiſſaries and contractors, and the old ladies who wrap themſelves up in ſcarlet cloaks may ſleep in undiſturbed ſecurity.

There are many circumſtances, which, at the ſame time that they increaſe the opportunities of mental improvement, increaſe alſo the opportunities of luxurious gratification. A nation has but little opportunity for either, till it has obtained a conſiderable degree of perfection in the neceſſary and laborious arts of life. Then only it is, that people have leiſure and inclination to cultivate the improvements introduced into ſociety by literature and ſcientific information: and I think there can be no difficulty in proving that the progreſs of information has commonly produced a progreſſive advancement in the general ſtandard of human character. If you look back to barbarous ages, and compare the ſtate of intellect with the ſtate of morals, in this country, in thoſe times, when great

great and mighty potentates, reverend biſhops, and illuſtrious peers, were permitted by expreſs act of parliament to claim the benefit of clergy although they ſhould not be capable to write, you will ſee that the moral character has kept pace with the intellectual; and that the maſs of the people of Britain are now much more worthy of eſteem and liberty, than the higheſt ranks of men among thoſe barbarous anceſtors to whom ignorance ſometimes looks up with ſuch blind admiration. I am ſorry however to add, that all the advantages of this improved ſtate of ſociety ſeem to be excluſively engroſſed by thoſe claſſes of beings who have contributed little to the common improvement; and whoſe morals appear to have received the ſmalleſt portion of this amelioration.

But citizens, we need not be ſurpriſed at the calumny which thoſe who have all power in their hands, and therefore cannot be puniſhed for the abuſe of it, laviſh on thoſe who have no power at all, and who therefore may be puniſhed for telling them the truth. Theſe privileged claſſes though not themſelves very famous for works of genius, have, in a conſiderable degree held not only the ſword but the pen. For money will make the pen to go as well as the mare: nay, power and patronage will command it without the aſſiſtance of money; and therefore it is, that more than one half of the romances which are ſent into the world under the denomination of hiſtories, political ſurveys, views of ſociety and *morals*, topographical deſcriptions, and the like, are ſtuffed with nothing but ſervile adulations and time-ſerving miſrepreſentations, to gloſs over the conduct and characters of the higher, and calumnious abuſe and falſe deſcriptions of the lower orders —calculated to ſteel the hearts of the readers againſt them. And thus it is that they render their productions pleaſing to thoſe great men who can recompence them with ſinecure places and penſions.

Topographers in particular, whom we generally conſult, to learn the real condition of the people, will be found guilty of this offence in the moſt abject degree. Every fact is miſrepreſented, and the groſſeſt falſehoods are foiſted upon us to make their court, forſooth, to the great men who have proud manſions in thoſe neighbourhoods they deſcribe. For they know very well that there is nothing to be got by pleading the cauſe of the ſwiniſh multitude.

Thus it is, that the *laborious* ranks of the community have had ſo many calumniators, and the *indolent* ſo many apologiſts. Were we *Lions* painters, ſays the *Lion* in the *fable*, how many

many pictures could we exhibit to you of men who were torn to pieces by lions, for this one of an oppoſite nature of which you are ſo proud. Chaucer ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe in his Wife of Bath's prologue:

"Perdie, If women had written ſtories,
"As men have, in their oratories,
"They would have told of men more wickedneſs,
"Than all the works of Adam would redreſs."

In modern Engliſh thus:

By heaven if women had written hiſtories as men have, they would have told more bad actions than all the ſons of Adam could retaliate on their heads.

Thus then the powerful orders have the opportunity of painting the common people in whatever light it ſuits them; and to the diſgrace of literature it has hardly ever happened that any man of conſiderable talents has had the diſintereſtedneſs and independence of mind to enliſt himſelf in the ſervice of the latter. But I believe, if characters were fairly delineated, there would have been few lords or great miniſters of ſtate, who might not bluſh at the compariſon between the two pictures of luxurious affluence and laborious indigence.

Citizens, there is another reaſon, why the compariſon has been drawn ſo unfavourable to the laborious part of the community: it muſt be admitted, that though the induſtrious poor are not in reality more vicious than the higher orders, yet there is ſome degree of difference in the kind of vices into which they reſpectively fall: and we are always inclined to think thoſe vices the greateſt which we have no opportunity of committing, or no particular inclination to commit. Butler ſays, in his Hudibras—

"We compound for ſins we are inclin'd to,
"By damning thoſe we have no mind to."

But after all, the difference is rather in the manners than the thing, in the extent of luxury with which thoſe views are gratified, than in the nature of the vices themſelves.

It is very true, that the poor peaſant may now and then be found out in ſome *faux pas* with the farmer's maid in the barn, and will be expoſed accordingly to the ſeverity of

of *impartial* juſtice, whilſt his wealthy landlord, who knows how to hide ſuch irregularities from the eyes of the world, ſatisfies his inclinations by debauching beneath the canopy of ſplendor, the wife or daughter of his boſom friend: the mechanick, it is true, will ſometimes be found reeling from the alehouſe intoxicated with the vulgar fumes of a liquor, which it would ſhock the ears of this polite auditory to name; while the great lord reels nightly from the tavern with half a dozen of claret or champaigne in his head, and eſcapes from cenſure, or at leaſt from chaſtiſement.

Theſe are the pleaſures of a gentleman; they are not of that low, baſe, vulgar kind in which the plebeian, now and then, and but rarely, indulges himſelf becauſe he can afford no better. The poor countryman alſo indulges himſelf ſometimes perhaps, in drinking his pot of fivepenny ale inſtead of paying a trifling ſcore he has run at the chandler's ſhop; but the illuſtrious potentate drinks his *Tokay* at *five guineas* a bottle at the very time when he is calling on his tenants and neighbours, in addition to the exorbitant rent they afford him, to ſubſcribe thouſands upon thouſands, to enable him to enter into a compoſition with his creditors and ſecure the payment of their demands in twelve or fourteen years.

It muſt be admitted alſo, Citizens, that the labouring poor are ſometimes guilty of pilfering a ſtick, or ſo, from the hedges and fences of their landlords, or perhaps of breaking down a pale or digging up a poſt for fuel, to warm their ſhivering limbs. But the Stateſman and imperious Lord never ſteal ſticks from hedges, nor pales from fences. No: they commit no felonies—they ſatisfy themſelves—they do things in ſtile; and the worſt that they can be accuſed of, in this way, is only deſolating whole nations, and plundering their country by millions at a time:—Actions which, as there is no law powerful enough to correct, cannot be ſet down in the catalogue of crimes.

There is alſo another cauſe for the very unjuſt character which is given by the opulent ranks to the laborious part of the community. They draw their information from polluted ſources, and a contracted ſurvey of human ſociety. It is true that people of rank, as they are called, are not ſhut up, like ſultans, in the ſeraglios of the eaſt; but they are kept in almoſt as much ignorance:—If they travel, it is incloſed in a vehicle of modern luxury, called a coach or a poſt-chaiſe, and the only perſons they converſe with, except the pageants of

their

their own caſt, are the innkeepers and poſtillions on the road. At home, they remain in equal ignorance of the real character of the peaſant and artificer: the former ſtands trembling in his preſence, and with the latter he ſcarcely ever encounters: ſo that his ideas of the characters of the poor is derived from the lacquies, panders, and low retainers, who hover about the ſcenes of their debaucheries, and whom their own luxurious vices have corrupted. In ſhort, the claſs of the poor they know any thing about, is that ſmall and really deſpicable ſet of vagabonds, who are no where to be found but in the purlieus of brothels and gaming-houſes, and other ſeminaries of vice, which ſpring from the luxuries and diſſipation of great cities,

Theſe are the unfortunate beings I, would fain have the candour to believe, whom they falſely conſider as the repreſentatives of the whole of the common people, when they call them a pack of profligates and wretches. And wretched enough indeed they are. But who made them ſo wretched? Who made them ſo profligate? Could ſuch beings as I am now deſcribing—men that ſleep on bulks, and loiter in loathſome receſſes, without viſible occupation or permanent reſidence—could ſuch poor calamitous outcaſts as theſe exiſt to infeſt ſociety, if it were not for the luxurious vices of the higher claſſes, which firſt brought them into ſo degraded a ſituation?

But if from this ſcanty number—this refuſe of debauchery—a claſs of beings, who never yet were found in any well ordered, well organized ſociety, we draw our ideas of the laborious poor, nothing but our ignorance can be pleaded in our excuſe. Viſit the garret of the artificer, go into the workſhops of the manufacturers, go into the cottages of peaſants, the proper ſcenes to teach you the real character of the poor, and I will be bold to ſay, you will meet with perſons of a very different deſcription.

Citizens, a very able writer, (who is certainly no Jacobin, no metaphyſical reformer,) has lately ſtepped forth to vindicate the poor from ſuch infamous calumnies. The perſon I mean is a Citizen *Davies*, whoſe book now lies before me. —I ſay *Citizen Davies*—for although he has ſome ariſtocratic prejudices lurking about him, as appears, among other things, from the price of his book, yet I call him Citizen, becauſe I ſee, in *his* book, virtuous and generous feelings which are of the true *Civic* caſt; and by *Citizen* I mean only a member of civilized ſociety whoſe heart is ſoftened, and whoſe affections are warmed by a genial love and ſympathy for mankind.

This writer will ſhew you, by facts well ſubſtantiated, that the calumnious charge of indolent profligacy, levelled againſt the induſtrious poor, are unjuſt. Nay you need not take his word. You need not depend on his authority. If you will uſe your own eyes, if you will uſe your own underſtandings, you will perceive that though the common people have their foibles, and their vices, it can never be admitted that indolence is one of the number; all that I have heard of negro ſlaves, and poor wretches condemned to the gallies, does not in point of laborious exertion exceed what I have ſeen and know of the inceſſant toils of one induſtrious part of the community of this country. Do they not labour for twelve, fourteen, ſometimes ſixteen hours a day, in all ſorts of weather, and in all ſorts of drudgery, and this for ſix ſucceſſive days in every week: and yet there are who can calumniate theſe men as a ſet of beings whoſe profligacy and inattention ſubject them to the wants and miſeries they experience.—Shame on the wretch who can ſee the moſt valuable parts of his fellow citizens thus depreſſed, and hear them thus calumniated, and not ſtand boldly forth to plead their cauſe, and riſk every thing that man can ſtake, in the hope of vindicating their rights, and obtaining an amelioration of their condition; but let us turn to the paſſage I was about to quote to you. You will remember the writer is a Miniſter of Religion, Rector of *Barkham*, in *Berkſhire*. You will not therefore ſuſpect him of making miſrepreſentations from Jacobinal motives. The clergy do not frequently lean to that ſide of the queſtion.

"In viſiting the labouring families of my pariſh, as my "duty led me, I could not but obſerve with concern their "mean and diſtreſſed condition. I found them in general "but indifferently fed; badly clothed; ſome children with-"out ſhoes and ſtockings; very few put to ſchool; and moſt "families in debt to little ſhopkeepers. In ſhort, there was "ſcarcely any appearance of comfort about their dwellings, "except that the children looked tolerably healthy. Yet "I could not impute the wretchedneſs I ſaw either to ſloth "or waſtefulneſs. For I knew that the farmers were careful "that the men ſhould not want employment; and had they "been given to drinking, I am ſure I ſhould have heard "enough of it. And I commonly found the women, when "not working in the fields, well occupied at home; ſeldom "indeed earning money; but baking their bread, waſhing "and mending their garments, and rocking the cradle."

Such

Such is the picture this writer draws of the manners and morals of the induſtrious poor. I ſhall preſently ſhew you, from facts in this book, that even if they had the diſpoſition, they have not the means of intoxication and criminal indulgence; and that therefore the charges which we lay upon the whole of the laborious parts of mankind, on account of a diſſolute few, are only diſgraceful to ourſelves.

Citizens, I ſhall now be obliged to draw your attention to a part of the ſubject which muſt neceſſarily be rather dry. I am going to ſtate to you a few inſtances of weekly expences and weekly earnings of poor families, collected from diligent enquiry and actual obſervation, by this Citizen Davies, in 1787. I ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſhew to you how conſiderably theſe calamities have increaſed ſince that time.

In the eighth page are the following ſtatements:

Accounts of the Expences and Earnings of Six Labouring Families in the Pariſh of Barkham in the County of Berks, taken at Eaſter 1787.

No. I. *Weekly* Expences of a Family, conſiſting of a Man and his Wife, and five Children, the eldeſt eight years of age, the youngeſt an Infant.

	s.	d.
Flour 7 gallons and an half, at 10d. *per* gallon	6	3
Yeaſt, to make it into bread, two-pence halfpenny; and ſalt one penny halfpenny - - - -	0	4
Bacon, 1lb. boiled at two or three times with greens; the pot-liquor with bread and potatoes, makes a *meſs* for the children - - - - - -	0	8
Tea 1 oz. two-pence;—3 quarters of a lb. of ſugar, ſix-pence;—half a lb. of butter or lard, four-pence	1	0
Soap, 1 quarter of a lb. at nine-pence *per* lb. -	0	2¼
Candles, 1-third of a lb. one week with another at a medium, at nine-pence - - - - -	0	3
Thread, thrum, and worſted, for mending apparel, &c.	0	3
Total	8	11¼

Weekly Earnings of the Man and his Wife, viz.

The man receives the common weekly wages eight months in the year - -	7	0
By taſk-work the remaining four months he earns ſomething more: his *extra* earnings, if equally divided among the fifty-two weeks in the year, would increaſe the weekly wages about - -	1	0

The wife's common work is to bake bread for the family, to wash and mend ragged clothes, and to look after the children; but at bean-setting, haymaking, and harvest, she earns as much as comes one week with another to about - - - - - 0 6

Total 8 6

Weekly expences of this family -	8	11¼
Weekly earnings - - -	8	6
Deficiency of earnings - -	0	5¼

I have thought it the more proper to state these circumstances in my lectures, because unfortunately aristocratic prejudice has caused this book to be published at the price of half a guinea, which ought to have been sent into the world at so easy a rate; every person in the middling and even humbler spheres of life should have been able to procure it, if we wish that reformation should come peaceably and quietly, it is necessary above all things that the people at large should know what the condition of the respective classes is. It is only by this that a unanimous desire of justice can be produced. It is only by this that we can know what justice in real life requires. It is only by this that corruption can be peaceably removed, and tumult and confusion be prevented: for one part of society being ignorant of the distresses of the other, oppressions are too grievous to be borne, heats and animosities, are the fruits of reciprocal ignorance, and men at last become determined to procure their rights even at a price which they would not wish to pay: for they argue, and perhaps they argue rightly, that it is better to have redress, even at any price, than to go on for ever from misery to misery, from one calamity to another, till the world becomes one desert waste, where horror, tyranny, and desolation, like a bloody triumvirate, exult in the sacrifices made to their ambition.

Thus, in the weekly expences only, you have a deficiency of five-pence farthing. But to these is to be added the weekly proportion of the expences, which are proved, by this accurate observer, to amount to three shillings and a farthing more. There is, therefore, a weekly deficiency of three shillings and five pence halfpenny.

No. II.

Weekly Expences of a Family, conſiſting of a Woman, whoſe Huſband is run away, and ſix Children, the eldeſt 16 years of age, the youngeſt 5: four of the Children too young to earn any thing.

	s.	d.
Flour for bread, 6 gallons, at 10*d. per* gallon -	5	0
Ditto, half a gallon for puddings, and thickening the children's meſſes - - -	0	5
Yeaſt for the bread, 2*d.*; ſalt three halfpence -	0	3½
Bacon, 2*lb.* at 8*d.* (with ſometimes a ſheep's head) -	1	4
Tea, one ounce and a half, 4*d.*; ſugar half a pound 4*d.* butter, half a pound, 4*d.* - - - -	1	0
Soap, ſomething more than a quarter of a pound, at 9*d. per* lb. - - -	0	2½
Candles, one-third of a pound, one week with another, at 9*d. per* pound. - - -	0	3
Thread, worſted, &c. - - -	0	3
Total	8	9

Weekly Earnings of this Family, with the Pariſh Allowance.

This family receives from the pariſh, weekly, -	5	0
The eldeſt boy earns *per* week - -	2	6
The next, aged 13 years, earns, but not conſtantly -	1	6
The mother, (whilſt an old woman looks after the younger children, earns, one week with another, about - - - - -	1	6
The amount, ſuppoſing none of them to loſe any time, is - - -	10	6
But ſome deduction muſt be made from this ſum, becauſe they are an unhealthy family, one or other of them being often laid up with the ague or rheumatiſm; diſorders to which poor people, from low living and working in the wet, are very ſubject. The woman aſſures me that their earnings with the pariſh allowance do not exceed 9s. *per* week on the average; therefore deduct - -	1	6
Total of earnings, with the pariſh allowance	9	0
Surplus of earnings - - -	0	3
Weekly proportion of annual out-goings	3	2¼
	0	3
Deficient	2	11¼

No. III.

Weekly Expences of a Family, conſiſting of a Man and his Wife, with four ſmall Children, the eldeſt under 6 years of age, the youngeſt an Infant,

	s.	d.
Flour, 6 gallons, at 10d. per gallon	5	0
Yeaſt, 2d.—ſalt 1½d.	0	3½
Bacon, 1 lb.	0	8
Tea, 1 ounce, 2d.—ſugar, ¾lb. 6d.—butter, ½lb. 4d.	1	0
Soap, ¼lb. 2½d.—candles, ⅓d. 3d.—thread, &c. 3d.	0	8¼
Total	7	7¾

Weekly Earnings of the Man and his Wife, viz.

The huſband, if he has conſtant health and conſtant employment, earns on an average	8	0
The wife, like No. I, does not earn above	0	6
Total	8	6

Weekly earnings of this family	8	6
Weekly expences	7	7¾
Surplus of earnings	0	10¼

Weekly proportion of annual outgoings	2	10¼
	0	10¼
Deficient	2	0

No. IV.

Weekly Expences of a Man and his Wife, with three Children, the eldeſt under 5 years of age, the youngeſt an Infant.

Flour, 3 gallons *per* week, at 10d.	2	6
Yeaſt, 1d.—ſalt 1½d.	0	2½
Bacon: the farmer of whom they rent their dwelling, lets them have a fatted hog, weight about 14 ſcore, (on condition of their not keeping any pigs or poultry) at 1s. *per* ſcore under the market price: this at 6s. 6d. *per* ſcore (1787) comes to 4l. 11s. and as it laſts the family the whole year, it is *per* week exactly	1	9
Cheeſe, about 28lb. at 4½d. *per* lb; 10s. 6d. *per ann.* —*per* week	0	2½

Tea,

Tea, ¼lb. *per* month, at 3s. *per* lb. *per* week 2¼d.; ſugar, 8d.; butter, 4d. - -	1	2
The wife having an infant at the breaſt, and fancying *very* ſmall beer better than mere water, brews a peck of malt once a month, which coſts 1s. 4d.—hops, ¼lb. 4d.—this is *per* week - -	0	5
Soap, 3 lbs. at 9d. *per* lb. laſts 2 months, this is *per* week - - -	0	3
Candles, ½lb. at a medium, 3d.—thread and worſted 2d.	0	5
Total	6	11¼

Weekly Earnings of this Family, viz.

The man's buſineſs is to follow a farmer's team, for which he has 8s a week throughout the year -	8	0
He has, beſides, either his diet in his employer's houſe 6 weeks in harveſt, or inſtead of it 18s.; which divided into 52 parts, is *per* week - - -	0	4
The wife earns at a medium, about 8d. *per* week,	0	8
Total	9	0

Weekly earnings of this family -	9	0
Weekly expences - -	6	11¼
Surplus of earnings	2	0¾

Weekly proportion of annual outgoings - -	2	8¾
	2	0¾
Deficient	0	7½

No V.

Weekly Expences of another Family, conſiſting of a Man and his Wife with Three Children, the oldeſt ſix Years of Age, the youngeſt an Infant.

	s.	*d.*
Flour ½ a ſack per month, or nearly 5 gallons per week, ſay 4½ at 10d — —	3	9
Yeaſt and ſalt - - -	0	3
Meat, bought a pig and fatted it; price of the pig 10s. 6d. coſt 6d. a week for 42 weeks before fatting, 1l. 1s.; was fatted with one ſack of beans, 15s. one ſack of peaſe 16s. and 5 buſhels of ground barley 25s.; total 4l. 7s. 6d.—When killed it was eſtimated to weigh about 14 ſcore pounds; it coſt there-		

therefore 6s. 4d. *per* ſcore; this, with a few ſheeps' heads and ſhins of beef, will laſt all the year, and is *per* week - - - -	1	8
Beer; they ſeldom brew but againſt a chriſtening	0	0
Tea, ſugar and butter - - -	1	0
Soap, ſtarch, candles, worſted, on an average -	1	0
Total	7	8

Weekly Earnings of this Family, viz.

The man has, ſummer and winter, the common pay, 7s.; and he has alſo a meſs of milk for breakfaſt, and ſmall beer worth at leaſt 1s. more - -	8	0
The woman earns, as ſhe believes, by waſhing and needlework, by breeding poultry, and at harveſt work, when ſhe has no child to nurſe, about 1s. *per* week - - - -	1	0
Total	9	0

Weekly earnings of this family -	9	0
Weekly expences - -	7	8
Surplus of earnings -	1	4
Weekly proportion of annual outgoings - - - -	2	8¼
Subtract	1	4
Deficiency	1	4¼

No. VI.

Weekly Expences of a Family conſiſting of a Man and his Wife, with two young Children, the eldeſt ſeven Years of Age, the youngeſt four.

	s.	*d.*
Flour 5 gallons, at 10d. - - -	4	2
Yeaſt and ſalt - - - -	0	3
Bacon 1½ pound, at 8d. - - -	1	0
Tea, one ounce, 2d.; ſugar ½lb. 4d.; butter ½lb. 4d.	0	10
Soap ¼lb. 2¼; candles 3d; worſted 3d. - -	0	8¼
Total	6	11¼

Weekly

Weekly Earnings of this Family, viz.

The man earns, one week with another, if conſtantly employed - - - -		8	0
The woman on an average, not more than -		0	6
Total		8	6
Weekly earnings of this family	8	6	
Weekly expences - - -	6	11¼	
Surplus of earnings -	1	9¾	
Weekly proportion of annual outgoings, - - -	2	6¼	
Subtract	1	6¾	
Deficiency	0	11½	

N. B. The weekly expences and earnings of another family, conſiſting of the ſame number of perſons, are ſo nearly the ſame with the above, that it is not worth while to ſet them down ſeparately.

This was the caſe at the price proviſions bore in 1787. I ſhall now juſt mention a few facts, which prove the oppreſſion to be much more grievous at this time.—Since the year 1787, there has been a moſt rapid increaſe in the price of proviſions. Flour is here ſtated at ten-pence per gallon. While I was in the Iſle of Wight, it was ſold at two ſhillings and three-pence per gallon; ſo that ſeven gallons and a half, at two ſhillings and three-pence per gallon, amount to ſixteen ſhillings and ten-pence halfpenny; while the whole earnings of the man and his wife are but eight ſhillings and ſixpence.—Here you have a deficiency of eight ſhillings and four-pence halfpenny, even if flour alone were the only article the poor man had to buy. [*A laugh.*]

Citizens, there may be ſome who are diſpoſed to laugh at this. The circumſtance may appear trifling to them, that millions of their fellow-beings, more uſeful to ſociety than themſelves, are pining in abſolute want. But ſuch facts ought ſurely to inſpire ſome ſympathy with however little ability ſuch facts may be ſtated—with however ungraceful a delivery they may be accompanied: and I confeſs they come from the lips of a man not much uſed to the ſtatement of mere numerical calculation, who has been more deſirous to ſtudy the heart—the intellects—the feelings of the human race—than

the *tare* and *tret* by which human life is now to be eſtimated; and who laments that he is obliged, from the unfeeling neglect of rulers and oppreſſors, to deſcend to minute particulars of arithmetic in ſuch a caſe, that he may drive the nail of conviction into the hard block of a heart which dwells, but too frequently, in the boſom of the proud being we call man.

I know Citizens, that by courting your prejudices, by flattering your individual importance, I can command more of your plaudits; but if I bring conviction to one deluded Ariſtocrat, if the flame of truth ariſe in one human boſom from my efforts, take my reputation—tear it into ſhatters—and let neither my name nor my perſon be thought of more. I ſtand up here the advocate of my ſuffering and miſerable fellow-beings, and not to court the applauſes which any ſet of men can poſſibly confer upon me.

Citizens, ſince this period the calamity has been monſtrouſly aggravated. We have had, generally ſpeaking, of a glorious and abundant harveſt. Yet what is the condition of the poor now? What is the price of bread at this time? What is the compariſon between the condition of common people now, and in the year 1787, at which period even the calamities of mankind were calling aloud for relief? At this time our flour is one ſhilling and ten-pence per gallon. Remember, Citizens, that the gallon loaf is the ſame as your half-peck. What then is the preſent condition of the labourer? Our gallon of flour is one ſhilling and ten-pence—ſeven gallons and an half amounts to thirteen ſhillings and nine-pence—the earnings are eight ſhillings and ſix-pence—and you have ſtill for bread alone a deficiency of five ſhillings and three-pence. Such is the portion of every poor unfortunate being whom nature has curſed with ſervility. He is doomed to feel the anguiſh of not knowing how to ſatisfy the hunger of thoſe little infants who cling to his heart, and at every call of want tear the fibres of his exiſtence, and make him curſe the hour when he was born, doubly anathematize the hour which proved propitious to his love; but, worſt of all, execrate the fatal moment that made his paſſion fruitful, and gave him children, once the beſt bleſſing, now the worſt torment of the marriage bed.

But, citizens, to ſhew you how rapidly, of late, our burthens have increaſed, and our comforts declined, let us ſee the alteration which has taken place during the laſt eight years. We are told in this book that in the year 1787, the earnings of a laborious man and his wife were juſt hardly ſufficient to

ſuppport

ſupport the exiſtence of themſelves and two ſmall children. But what is their condition now? Will their preſent earnings ſupport them? Will they find them even in bread alone? Alas! when I ſtate the fact, I know the feeling heart will deeply mourn; though perhaps an individual may indulge his levity, where his ſympathy ought to be exerted. Every article conſumed by every individual is already conſiderably increaſed in its price. But let us confine ourſelvs to bread, for bread and water are the labourers fare at preſent. Flour inſtead of 10d. is 1s. 11d. *per* gallon. Five gallons of flour, we are told by this book are requiſite for the weekly ſupply of a man, his wife, and two children. Five gallons at 1s. 11d. amount to 9s. 7d.: add to this article (upon the ſuppoſition, which is not true, that nothing elſe had increaſed in its price) the other expences, leaving out the ſcanty morſel of bacon they uſed to have, and you will find the amount to be 13s. 10d½. Now will any man tell me in what county the labouring peaſant gets 13s. 10d½. a week for his labour? I do not mean to ſay in the harveſt month, but taking all the year into the account for the whole 52 weeks. In very few places indeed is it more than 8s. in none more than 9s.—Taking it here at the average of 8s. 6d. you have a deficiency of 5s. 4d½.; or admitting the propriety of ſuch a luxury as a bit of bacon once a week, of 6s. 4d½ per week, in the means of ſupport for a man and his wife, and even two ſmall children. And where is the well-wiſher to his country, who would not wiſh that every labouring man, ſhould have more than two children? elſe what is to become of our population—of our ſtrength—of our power—of our very means of exiſtence as a nation. How is the conſumption of great cities, of luxury, of war to be ſupplied? Suffer me to repeat once more—

" Princes or lords may flouriſh or may fade,
" A breath may make *them* as a breath has made;
" But a bold peaſantry, their country's pride,
" When once 'tis loſt can never be ſupply'd.

Yet, citizens, will humanity believe it, while I was in the Iſle of Wight, a circumſtance I have mentioned before, the farmers were diſpoſed to raiſe the price of labour, and came to a reſolution for that purpoſe, when a certain ariſtocrat, one of the greateſt proprietors of the iſland, I will not mention his name—I wiſh to allay perſonal indignation not excite

it—and to promote general inquiry, not to ſtrike at individuals, who, after all, are the creatures of circumſtances, and who if they are baſe and ungenerous, are made ſo by circumſtances reſulting from impolitic inſtitutions. This, nameleſs ariſtocrat, called a meeting the Sunday following, after ſervice, in the veſtry of the church, to ſhew how much the doctrines he had heard had ſoftened his heart, and uſed threats and complrints to influence the farmers to alter their reſolution; telling them that they would make the common people inſolent, and would never be able to reduce their wages again.

Why ſhould they be reduced? when wars, taxes, and the profligate ſchemes of deſpotic and corrupt miniſters have increaſed the price of thoſe commodities neceſſary to the ſupport of life? Does the return of peace ever reſtore the prices of thoſe commodities to their ancient ſtandard? No! the landed proprietor takes advantage of the riſe of the product, to raiſe the price of his lands, and thus perpetuates the miſchief which would otherwiſe be only temporary.

But there is another circumſtance that increaſes the calamities of thoſe claſſes of ſociety, I mean the degeneracy of ariſtocracy with reſpect to their conduct to their tenants, and the ſurrounding cottagers: I hope it is no high treaſon, though it is a certain truth, to ſay, that our ariſtocrats are degenerated.

Citizens, I do not mean to ſtand up as an advocate for the ancient feudal ſyſtem. The barbarous Barons of elder times, and the ſyſtem of vaſſalage charm not me: but let us remember, that if there were vices of very conſiderable magnitude in the ancient ariſtocratic body, there were alſo virtues which made ſome degree of compenſation for them. Brutal ferocity, and rapacity marked their conduct; and they held the ſurrounding country in miſerable dependence upon their greatneſs: but they conſidered the whole of their vaſſals as their family, and thought they ſhewed their power and grandeur beſt by their liberality to the induſtrious, the poor, and the unfortunate. For them the hall of the great man was open, and they could taſte at leaſt on particular days the the charming beverage of his cellar. Where is this hoſpitality now? The houſe of grandeur it is true, invites you by its beautiful appearance; but when you knock at the gate, inſulting, ſuſpicious avarice turns you away with bitter diſappointment; and thus ſeems to ſay—it is reward enough for

your

your toil that your *eyes* partake of the grandeur which your hands produce.

I need only refer you in ſupport of this, to a few facts from Hume's hiſtory.—Oh blind and fooliſh miniſters! when you were determined to adopt a ſyſtem of proſecution and perſecution, for the ſuppreſſion of popular enquiry, why did not you make it high treaſon to propoſe to publiſh hiſtories in cheap editions, like theſe. Such books, though written by *high-flown* Ariſtocrats themſelves, are ſtrong advocates for reformation.—Such books are pregnant with facts that, if properly known and digeſted, would hurl Corruption from its high-built ſeat, and reſtore the reign of Liberty and Juſtice.

In what did the power and grandeur of our ancient nobility conſiſt? not in fine coaches und ſplendid equipages; not in pompous buildings, or lofty colonoades, raiſed at an immenſe expence to obſcure the manſion they were meant to adorn: no, but in hoſpitality—in gladdening the heart of the poor, and filling the hungry. "The earl of Warwick, commonly "known from the ſubſequent events, by the appellation of the "*King-maker*, particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his gal- "lantry in the field, by the hoſpitality of his table, by the "magnificence, and ſtill more by the generoſity of his ex- "penceand by the ſpirited and bold manner which attended "him in all his actions. The undeſigned frankneſs and open- "neſs of his character rendered his conqueſt over men's affec- "tions the more certain and infallible. His preſents were "regarded as ſure teſtimonies of eſteem and friendſhip; and "his profeſſions as the overflowings of his genuine ſenti- "ments. No leſs than 30,000 perſons are ſaid to have lived "at his board in different manors and caſtles which he poſ- "ſeſſed in England."

This was nobility, this was ſolid grandeur! unlike the ſelfiſh, and tinſel fopperies of modern times. But theſe were the days of chivalry, and "the days of chivalry," you have been told, "are gone;" and the days of corruption, of place-men, and borough-mongers are come in their ſtead.

There is, however, one redreſs, we ſhall be told, ſtill left, —though the nobility and rich proprietors open their doors no more with ancient hoſpitality to their ſurrounding tenants—though a man is now unable to earn ſo much bread alone as will ſupply his wants, yet *the pariſh offers its generous aſſiſt- ance*, and large contributions are made to ſupply the poor with rice and potatoes. But is this a proper way to provide

for

for thoſe whoſe induſtry ought to ſecure the independent enjoyment of the neceſſaries of life. Beſides, as to pariſh relief, it is the intereſt of overſeers, who muſt bear a proportion of the rate, to provide for them as miſerably as they can. But what is worſe, this charity, as it is called, breaks the ſpirits of thoſe who ought to derive ſupport from their generous efforts to render fertile that earth, which, without their aid, would be waſte and ſterile. This drives them, alſo, frequently to deſert their families, and thus increaſes both the diſtreſs and the burthen. Add to this the unjuſt and unneceſſary load accumulated on the ſhoulders of the middling orders by this ſyſtem of ſupplying, by mock charity, what in juſtice ought to be diſpenſed as the merited return for labour. A conſiderable part of what is levied for theſe purpoſes never go to the relief of thoſe for whom it was contributed. There are pariſh feaſts, pariſh jobbs, and pariſh patronage, as well as feaſts, jobbs, and patronage, among ſtateſmen and courtiers. One muſt have a grand workhouſe to build, another muſt have a new portico to the church, and a third muſt be employed to paint a cupola, or boil ſome pitch in a belfry, and thereby if he happens to ſet the houſe of God in flames, and burn it to the ground, it is only another job to build it up again. Ariſtocracy and ornament muſt be attended to whatever the common and middling orders feel. And then the tax falls not where it ought to fall, on the higher, but on the middling orders of mankind. I ſuſpect I have already treſpaſſed on the time which ought to be allotted to this Lecture, and I muſt therefore adjourn the conſideration of this ſubject; in the further inveſtigation of which I ſhall enter pretty largely into the hiſtory of the national debt and taxes; and the application of that debt and taxes not to the aggrandizement of the people, but to that of a few Placemen and Penſioners.

ODE.

ODE.

THE UNIVERSAL DUTY.

FROM POEMS WRITTEN IN CLOSE CONFINEMENT IN THE TOWER AND NEWGATE.

[*BY JOHN THELWALL.*]

THERE are, degenerate!—to the future blind—
Who deem the patriot fervor—the whole ſoul
That ſpurns Oppreſſion, and the controul
Of Tyranny, ſhould be to him reſign'd,
To whoſe lone boſom for protection clings
No tender Bride—to whoſe embraces ſprings
No ſmiling infant, to awake the mind
To ſocial tenderneſs.—Ah, fond miſtake!
Freedom, the juſt inheritance of all,
Should be by all aſſerted; at the call
Of this eternal principle ſhould wake,
As at th' Archangel's trump, the ſlumb'ring world;
And to the glorious ſtandard, wide unfurl'd,
Of ſoul-enabling Truth impatient throng;
While Civic-Virtue chaunts the martial ſong,
And on their blood-ſtain'd Thrones fell Tyrants ſhake.

The enamour'd youth, ſtung with ingenuous ſhame,
While at the Deſpot's nod his Country bows,
Should bluſh to meet the Virgin's anſwering vows
With unſcar'd breaſt, or love's endearments claim,
Till his indignant Virtue had been prov'd
In ſome brave effort. For the wretch unmov'd
By Patriot Virtue, tho' his outward frame
Blooming as ſpring, and gay as youthful ſteers,
Promiſe Love's joyous harveſt, yet purſu'd
By Slavery's abject terrors—aw'd—ſubdu'd—
To Hymen's couch but half his manhood bears.
Even hoary Age ſhould fire the riſing race
With grave example: and the dire diſgrace
To ſpurn, one brave, expiring effort lend;
Scorning beneath a ſervile yoke to bend
That of all reverence robs his ſilver hairs!

But chief the patriot flame ſhould rouſe the Sire
To deeds of manly Virtue, and inſpire

The

The high diſdain of Tyranous controul,
Each Grace
New op'ning in the ſmiling face
Of a lov'd Infant, ſhould awake his ſoul
To bolder energy:
For who that traces, with delighted eye,
In the Babes playful features the ſoft ſmile
Of a lov'd Conſort, or the bolder traits
Of his own manly form, but heaves the ſigh,
And feels the burning bluſh, to think, the while
Inglorious indolence conſumes his days,
The chains are forging by encroaching Power
Shall cramp thoſe darling limbs, and bend that neck
Round which his anxious arms ſo oft entwin'd!
Ah! who could bear—nor curſe his natal hour—
To ſee his offspring to the general wreck
Of fell Oppreſſion hopeleſsly reſign'd?
Or who, with Nature's generous feeling bleſt,
While o'er his couch the iron ſceptre waves,
Would ſtrain a trembling Partner to his breaſt,
And ſtamp his image on a brood of ſlaves?

Tower, 13th July, 1794.

THE CRISIS.

" I will not, like a careles poet ſpoil
" The laſt act of my play, till now applauded,
" By giving the world juſt cauſe to ſay I fear'd
" Death more than the loſs of honor."
BEAUMONT and FLETCHER.

IT comes—the awful hour!—Compatriots dear,
Who oft confiding in my honeſt zeal,
And keen attachment to the public weal,
Bent to my artleſs theme the partial ear;
Now ſearch my breaſt with ſcrutiny ſevere;
That breaſt which frequent in the ſwelling pride
Of youthful ardor, the ſtern threats deſied
Of diſtant danger: mark, if now baſe fear
Palſy its boaſted virtue—or if now
(Forgetful of the truths ſo oft upheld)
Abject beneath the imperious feet I bow
Of terror-veſted Power—ſuppliant!—depreſs'd!—
Or one emotion feel, but what the breaſt
Of Hampden or of Sidney might have ſwell'd,

Newgate, Nov. 26.

THE TRIBUNE. N°. XXXI.

Wedneſday, 30th September, 1795.

On the Cauſes of the CALAMITIES *and* DISTURBANCES *that afflict the Nation.* Lecture the Third, *delivered on Wedneſday Sept.* 30, 1795. Containing, *Animadverſions on the* OPPRESSION *of the* MIDDLE ORDERS; *the Diſproportionate Growth of the* POORS' RATE; *&c.*

CITIZENS,

ON the laſt evening that I met you in this place, a very conſiderable part of my time was taken up by quotations of facts from a work which ſtill lies before me, and which exhibited, in detail, a picture of the abject ſituation of that claſs of the community, from whom we derive all our comforts, and all our advantages. I am well aware, Citizens, that by purſuing that plan, I did not beſt conſult my individual popularity. I know very well, that details of facts will, in a conſiderable degree appear dull to a large audience, eſpecially when thoſe facts are quoted from printed authorities. But there are oppreſſions of ſo very extraordinary a nature, in this country of boaſted liberty and happineſs, that one can hardly venture to ſtate them without producing, at the ſame time, evidence ſo deciſive and impartial as may ſtrike every auditor with the irreſiſtible force of conviction.

I need not otherwiſe have referred to this work in particular for the facts which I detailed. I could have given you preciſely the ſame details from Dyer's "Complaints of the Poor"—or, I could have ſubſtantiated, from my own obſervation and my own knowledge, the depreſſed and cruel ſtate of the lower orders of the community. But Citizens, I did chuſe to purſue this line of conduct; and for this reaſon:

Since I have ſtood forward as a public lecturer, a very conſiderable change has taken place in the audiences that have

ſurrounded me. When I firſt began, the perſons who attended were of that truly reſpectable and valuable, though deſpiſed and oppreſſed claſſes of citizens abuſively called *the lower orders* - perſons who have themſelves, alſo, engaged in political purſuits and who were members of the ſame popular ſocieties with myſelf. To them I could ſpeak of facts which their own enquiries and their own experience, had brought before them; and which had occaſioned the political bias they entertained. To them therefore I could ſpeak upon ſuch topics in general terms, and with a boldneſs that required no ſupport from printed documents, nor any other evidence than their notoriety and and their own obſervation. But my audience is now, generally, of a different deſcription: that is to ſay – it is not an audience of one particular claſs of men, or of men of one particular ſet of opinions. It is a mixed audience of all the different claſſes, deſcriptions and opinions which this great town affords.

This is the period to which I have looked forward with anxious hope and expectation: becauſe I know that when general curioſity ſhould thus be rouſed, then would be the time when I ſhould, indeed, have an opportunity, if my induſtry and and abilities were equal to the taſk, of diffuſſing the light of truth through a wider circle, and increaſing the proſelytes to the glorious cauſe of liberty and juſt equality. But citizens to effect this good purpoſe I know that, in a very conſiderable degree, I muſt alter my *manner of proceeding*:—not my *principles!*—thoſe I believe are entwined with the very fibres of my exiſtence; and they who wiſh to exterminate them from my boſom muſt do what my perſecutors lately attempted—tear out my heart from its ſeat in this breaſt: for thus, and thus alone, can they exterminate an attachment which I ſhould be baſe, vile, and degenerate (after the convictions that have ſunk into my mind) if I could otherwiſe relinquiſh. But though the principle remained the ſame, the mode of proceeding became in ſome degree different. I muſt give to the prejudiced mind teſtimonies aud authorities that will remove its prejudice; I muſt give to the wavering mind thoſe ſtrong and decided facts that will fix the yet fluctuating principles; and I muſt alſo endeavour to give theſe in ſuch a manner as not to loſe the

the intereſt inſpired by boldneſs of ſentiment—by ſtriking the keys of paſſion, and intereſting the imagination. I know, Citizens, that if I were diſpoſed to make this merely a place of entertainment, perſonality and invective, party prejudice and factious declamation, would be the high road to fame and popularity.

To endeavour to pull down a *Pitt*, and ſet up a *Fox*, would be perhaps, in the preſent period, a very popular attempt: but it is not by pulling down one man and putting up another, that any good can be done in the preſent ſtate of ſociety; and I will do my perſecutors the juſtice to ſay, that cruel and ferocious as they have become, from their ſituations, they are not worſe than ſuch ſituations muſt make any men in the world who attempt to retain them: and if Mr. *Fox*, or any individual whatever, with ten thouſand times more virtue than any of the Whig party even poſſeſs, were to come into power, he muſt, under the preſent ſyſtem, ſoon be as baſe and degenerate as as thoſe now in power. You will have had a turbulent ſtruggle for no other purpoſe than to change the name of your adminiſtration, without producing any alteration in favour of the great body of the people. So radically vicious are the principles upon which, under the deteſtable ſyſtem of *Borough-mongering*; every adminiſtration is compelled to act. I muſt occaſionally therefore, ſacrifice the purſuit of grace and energy, and that degree of applauſe which I do not pretend to ſay is not pleaſing to my mind, that I may make this place more a theatre of inſtruction than of mere amuſement.

It is accordingly neceſſary for me to ſtate facts in the moſt unequeſtionable ſhape, to draw my concluſions from thoſe facts, and to leave both the one and the other to operate upon your minds. Your own particular judgments thus rouſed and awakened, enquiry will lead you to the ſtandard of truth; and wherever that ſtandard is diſplayed thre I would wiſh you to repair; for there only can thoſe principles be maintained which promote the happineſs of man: and unleſs that happineſs can be promoted, how abſurd, how contemptible is it for any individual to ſacrifice his individual peace, and that tranquillity which domeſtic obſcurity can beſt afford, to mingle in the turbulent contentions of party or ſtem the torrent of oppreſſion and corruption.

The facts ſtated on the former evening are ſufficient to entitle me to draw this general concluſion—*That the condition of the labouring part of the community is not only exceſſively deplorable, but that it is worſe in a moſt unpardonable degree than it was even a very few years ago.* If we were to go back a century or two, if there is honeſt blood enough in the hearts of Britons to feed a bluſh, our cheeks muſt be ſuffuſed with crimſon, at the recital of the great and aſtoniſhing difference that has taken place in the midſt of all our boaſted improvements. Nor have we, I am afraid, citizens, much reaſon to ſuppoſe that their condition is likely to be ſoon ameliorated.—Abundant harveſts have been reaped by the ſickle of the Britiſh huſbandman; we have had a great appearance of ſmiling proſperity; and felicity, one would have ſuppoſed, was returning in the train of plenty to this long-deſerted iſland. Yet what is the real fact? Compare the real price of the neceſſary articles of life, with their price at the ſame ſeaſon of the year, in any former period, and then tell me whether it is the groſs monopoliſt, the borough-monger, and his agent, or the *maſs of the people*, that are benefited by *that fertility which the maſs of the people alone produce.*

No longer ago than this very day I have received a letter from a friend at Portſmouth, who among other particulars ſtates, that a ſpirit of perſecution is yet raging in that unhappy place called Goſport, where the magiſtrates, forſooth, are what they chuſe to call exceedingly *loyal:* but what, if they were not magiſtrates, I ſhould be inclined to conſider as lawleſs. Aſſemblies of perſons who, according to the cant phraſe of ariſtocracy, are in reſpectable ſituations of life, have been diſturbed, becauſe when they met together over their cheerful bowl, they ventured to enquire into the cauſes of the miſeries of the lower and middling orders of mankind; and yet to prove how very abſurd and unneceſſary ſuch enquiries at ſuch a time muſt be—to ſhew you the ſtate of happineſs and proſperity in the country, and to convince you at once that all the diſcontents in the nation are only created by a few factious *Jacobins*, who want to perſuade a happy people that they are miſerable: behold the letter is cloſed with a melancholy account that the bakers ſhops in *Goſport* are gone into mourning, and that the bakers left off baking bread.

But

But, miſerable as is the condition of the people, we ought not to be aſtoniſhed that they are reduced to ſuch a ſituation. It may appear a ſtrange aſſertion to ſome—but, for my part, I affirm, that it is ſo far from being aſtoniſhing that it is ſo bad, that it would be aſtoniſhing if their ſtate was any better. For the principle of human action, generally ſpeaking, is ſelf-love; and, as it has been proved that the agents or members of government are not leſs fond of themſelves than other perſons, how can we expect, that when the great maſs of the people have no voice or intereſt in the appointment of any branch of the government, that any branch of the government ſhou'd feel itſelf bound, by any forcible tie whatever, to look after their welfare and happineſs?

Thoſe who make the laws, will certainly make them for the benefit of thoſe who make law-makers. And, indeed, according to the general acceptation of mankind, they would act very immorally if they did not: for it is always ſuppoſed that, upon the principle of *gratitude*, if a man does that for you which you do not deſerve, you ſhould, in return, do that for him which he does not deſerve either—or elſe you are proved to be guilty of injuſtice, in not having been as unjuſt as your intereſted benefactor.

Citizens, though at preſent it may appear to you, that what we call the lower orders of the people are alone particularly injured, by this method of having the laws excluſively made by Borough-mongers, over whom the great body of the people have no controul, yet let me adviſe you to reflect a little how far your own intereſts are alſo implicated.

I ſpeak to you, as ſuppoſing that the majority here aſſembled are of the middle orders. I take it for granted, the greater part of thoſe who hear me are either in decent and reſpectable trades, profeſſional men, or perſons of ſmall independent fortunes. Taking this for granted, let me addreſs you, and call to your recollection the errors of thoſe judgments you have been too apt to form. Unfortunately, the diſtinctions which have been artfully created by thoſe who wiſh to make a few the inſtruments of oppreſſion againſt the whole, have narrowed the human heart, deſtroyed its ſympathies, and occaſioned us not to have that expanſive affection for our fellow-beings to which they are entitled: elſe, I believe, we ſhould find that, wherever we perceive the form of man, nay, further, wherever we perceive a capability of ſenſation

ſation, there we are bound, by relative duties, to promote the feelings of happineſs, and to remove every cauſe of pain, not neceſſary for the welfare and happineſs of the whole. But the diſtinctions, the artful arbitrary diviſions that have been made between one order of men and another, have occaſioned us, generally ſpeaking, to have but little ſympathy for any but thoſe of our own particular caſt or deſcription.

From the higheſt to the loweſt, this foible prevails in the human character. Monarchs and courtiers have ſeldom any ſympathy for the people; and the people, when they get the upper hand, I am ſorry to ſay, have not much ſympathy either for courtiers or monarchs. The titled proud regard the intermediate and lower claſſes of ſociety with ſcorn, as though they were a ſet of beings unfit to be regarded in any reſpect as their equals; and the middling and lower orders but too frequently retaliate upon them, by making them the objects of bitter invective: and that which follows invective too frequently, in the human character, we cannot be at a loſs to find out. This prejudice ſtill extending, inſtead of conſidering the whole human race as one family, fritters, and divides, and ſubdivides again and again, into ſo many diſtinct intereſts, that one would think there were really as many claſſes and generations of men as butterflies; and that the buſineſs of the philoſopher was to diſtinguiſh the one from the other, by the colour of his wings, or the length of his horns. The tradeſman deſpiſes the mechanic; the mechanic the clown; and the clown, in return, deſpiſes both.—Fatal deluſion!—So long as we thus go on, forgetting the real ties of affection, and creating artificial modes of perſonal diſtinction, ſo long, depend upon it, whatever principles we may profeſs, ſo long we ſhall continue to be a ſet of ſlaves; and not having the true ſocial principle of liberty (the principle of univerſal fraternity) engrafted in our hearts, we may change our maſters, indeed, but the change can never be for the better.

Let me, however, for argument's ſake, take up this prejudice. Let me endeavour to make uſe of it, to convince your minds, even upon your own calculation, how abſurdly you act, when you neglect to intereſt yourſelves in the welfare and happineſs of that claſs of mankind, whoſe laborious induſtry places them below you in the ſcale of comfort, though far—far above you in the ſcale of real utility.

Remember,

Remember Citizens, the intereſt of the middling and of the common people are cloſely and intimately incorporated: every act of oppreſſion which has a tendency to ſink the common people into ſtill lower miſery, has alſo a tendency to reduce thoſe of the middling claſs to the very condition and ſituation from which thoſe poor beings are ſo depreſſed. Accordingly we find, that in proportion to the oppreſſion, miſeries, calamities and extermination of the labouring poor, have been the bankruptcies, ruin, calamity, and misfortune of all the middling ranks of life. See how frequently the names of reputable tradeſmen get inſerted in the Gazette (the only ſort of diſtinction indeed which in the preſent times, a man in the common ranks of life can expect!) Remember alſo the altered condition of the man of ſmall fortune during the laſt 40 or 50 years. You will then perceive that though they have too frequently been made the inſtruments of depreſſing the lower orders, they are themſelves equally depreſſed.

There was a time when an independence of four or five hundred a year was a very reſpectable independence for a man and his family, uſed to the enjoyments and elegancies which received their poignancy from a poliſhed education. With this he might indulge himſelf in the beſt ſociety; might keep his furniſhed apartments in the beſt part of the town; his country houſe, his horſe, his whiſkey, and his groom; without fear of embarraſſment. What will it do now? Let every perſon who has either poſſeſſed, or moved in circles of thoſe who do poſſeſs this income, put the queſtion home, and recollect the difference; and he will find that upon ſuch an income, the ancient, liberal character of a gentleman can no longer be maintained.

How has this ariſen?—When we come to trace cauſes, we ſhall find that the ſame circumſtances which have occaſioned the peaſant's wages to be inadequate to procuring for him that bread which is to ſuſtain his life, has alſo brought the people of little fortune, into a condition in which the innocent luxuries and gaieties of life can be no longer indulged.

What then—will you be deluded by men who talk of protecting property but in reality deſtroy it?—What, pro-

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tect property by pillaging every labourer of two-thirds of his hire, and every man of property of two-thirds of his fortune?

I know a gentleman at this time, living on his own freehold houſe, who has again and again aſſured me that he pays more taxes for that freehold houſe than five and thirty years ago would have paid the rent if he had hired it. Is this protecting property? Be not miſtaken: there is but one ſpecies of property that Borough-mongers wiſh to ſupport: and that is the property of Rotten Boroughs: a property which gives them the power of diſpoſing of your lives, your intellects, your freedom, and the happineſs of your poſterity through all future ages.

There are other circumſtances alſo, which make this depreſſion and miſery of the laborious poor preſs particularly hard upon the middling claſſes, and occaſion them to be brought into ſo reduced a ſituation as we perceive them at this time. Let us remember the preſent mode of relieving the diſtreſſes and neceſſities of the labouring poor, and we ſhall ſoon be able to decide, according to the vulgar proverb, who pays the piper. The mode of relief—for ſome kind of relief muſt be granted when a man's whole wages will hardly produce half the bread alone, neceſſary for himſelf and family; for we have not yet quite attained that ſavage ferocity that we can ſee our peaſants and manufacturers abſolutely ſtarving, by wholeſale; though, from ſupineneſs and inattention, and many of us, perhaps, from ignorance of the real ſituation of thoſe people, ſo hardened our hearts as to be contented to conſign them to the ſcanty priſon allowance of bread and water! Well then ſome relief might be procured; and the general mode of relief is by a poor rate. I ſhall ſhew you by and by what ſort of a burthen this is upon the middling claſſes of ſociety, who are to bear the burthen of it.

But let us, by way of digreſſion, ſay a few words upon the relief itſelf. The poor man being no longer able to get ſubſiſtence for himſelf, is condemned perhaps to a workhouſe I ſhall ſay nothing of the immorality which frequently muſt be engendered by ſhutting up together ſuch a number of poor beings to brood over their diſcontents, and impart their irritated feelings to each other. I wiſh

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to dwell rather upon the ſimple juſtice or injuſtice of the practice—and to put the queſtion home to your own feelings, Why ought any man to be immured between high walls, reſembling thoſe of a priſon, merely becauſe he is found guilty of poverty—the conſequence of being doomed to inordinate toil without an adequate reward? Would it not be more *juſt*, and more *wiſe* to put the great maſs of the people upon ſuch a footing as to enable them to maintain themſelves and families by their own labour, that their hearts might not be depreſſed by unjuſt confinement, nor themſelves bowed down to a ſpirit of abject ſubmiſſion to thoſe from whom they receive in *charity*, what they ought to receive as a right—becauſe their labour muſt have earned it, before thoſe who give could have imparted it to them.

It is obſerved by perſons who live in the neighbourhood of *Greenwich Hoſpital* (and as far as I have ſeen, the obſervation is well founded) that you hardly ever ſee a penſioner with a contented countenance. This has been conſidered by ſome as a mark of the baſeneſs and *ingratitude* of the human character: but to me it is a mark of the dignity, independence and energy of human intellect. There is implanted in every breaſt an inſtinctive love of freedom; a *loco-motive*, as well as an intellectual dependence—a deſire to rove at will, wherever our inclinations may lead, with no other reſtraint than the neceſſities of which each one (under the reſtraints of juſt and neceſſary laws) is to judge for himſelf. But this cannot be the caſe of the poor individual relieved, according to preſent inſtitutions, by what what is called charity—he becomes a poor ſtationary animal—a mere vegetable-like ſubſtance—"a coarſe and homely dunghill-hill weed, "fixed to one ſpot to rot juſt where he grows!"

But it is more to my immediate point, to dwell upon the circumſtances of the preſſure of the poor's rate and the manner in which it falls upon particular claſſes. And here Citizens, let it be remembered, that, in the firſt place, this relief is inadequate to comfortable ſubſiſtence; independent of this circumſtance of confinement, which in the caſe of workhouſe charity is much more rigid and intolerable than that which I have inſtanced. Let it be remembered alſo, that it is liable to a great variety of

abuſes ſome of which I ſlightly detailed on the laſt evening, and which are more amply detailed in the 25th page of this work as follows:

The poor-rate is now in part a *ſubſtitute for wages.* And a miſerable ſubſtitute it is, for the following reaſon:— 1ſt. Becauſe the diſtribution of it being very much in the diſcretion of the overſeers of the poor, who, in ſaving the pariſh money, ſave their own, and who in diſtributing it donot always regard ſtrict juſtice, many modeſt and deſerving families, that cannot live entirely without relief, receive not ſufficient relief from it, chuſing rather to ſuffer oppreſſion than to incur the ill-will of their ſuperiors by applying to a magiſtrate for redreſs. 2dly. Becauſe the receiving of that from the pariſh in the precarious way of alms, which they ought to receive in wages as the reaſonable recompence of labour, is a great diſcouragement to the induſtrious poor, tends to ſink their minds in deſpondency, and to drive them into deſperate courſes.— 3dly. Becauſe ſometimes the men, either from reſentment at the hard uſage they have met with, are provoked to deſert their families; or elſe too often, from mere deſpair of being able to maintain them honeſtly, they and their wives betake themſelves to wicked courſes: the example corrupts their children, whoſe minds being thus tainted remain ever after dead to all virtuous impreſſions. 4thly. Becauſe wherever large ſums of money are raiſed for the poor, a great temptation is laid in the way of unprincipled overſeers, who, by embezzling a part of what comes into their hands, rob the poor in the firſt inſtance; and afterwards to cover their villainy, perjure themſelves in ſwearing to their accounts.

But there are ſome other abuſes which deſerve ſome little reflection, becauſe they are of great importance to ſubſtantiate the inſeparable connection between the intereſts of the middle claſſes of ſociety, and thoſe of the laborious poor.

You are to remember, that when the labourer, either within or without the doors of any of theſe charitable ſeminaries, receives any other ſupport than that which is procured as wages from his employer, he does in reality receive that ſupport, not from the individual who employed him, and has reaped the immediate profits of his labour; but from thoſe by whom he never was employed, and who are only advantaged in a ſecondary way by his labor. Neither is it it paid by the higher orders of ſociety. It is

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paid by aſſeſſments levied, almoſt excluſively, upon the middle orders: and therefore no perſons in the world have ſo great an intereſt in taking care that the laborious poor ſhall be amply recompenſed for their labour, as the middle orders: they who pay the deficiency ſurely muſt feel it to be their intereſt that no deficiency ſhould be felt.

But it may be ſuppoſed I am departing a little from the truth, becauſe the general outcry is, that it is the rich who ſupport the poor; that the alms of the great are the ſources from which (kind commiſerating beings as we always find them!) all the bounty and alleviation ſpring. But it is not true—It is true, indeed, that the rich, the powerful, the great and the proud are ſupported by the toil, the induſtry, the alms of the laborious poor: but it is not true that even thoſe reliefs which, in hours of crying neceſſity and diſtreſs, are extorted from the hard hearts of unfeeling ſuperiors, come in any conſiderable degree from the purſes of overgrown monopoliſts.

How ſhould it be ſo? Let it be remembered that theſe claſſes are very fond of keeping themſelves diſtinct. The rich do not like to ſee the beggarly miſerable cabins of the poor around them; they wiſh to herd together: as birds of a feather—you know the adage. They wiſh to keep themſelves among perſons of their own particular ranks, that their *fine feelings* may not be wounded by the ſight of miſery and wretchedneſs, which they are not at all times inclined to relieve.

This, Citizens, is in ſome degree the caſe throughout the country, but more particularly ſo in London and other great cities. I ſhall appeal to a few facts, that will convince you that I am ſtating this ſubject fairly, candidly, and impartially. I will refer you to a pariſh in which I have myſelf lived, the pariſh of *St. Thomas's Southwark*. In that pariſh there are ſcarcely any perſons of conſiderable property. Almoſt all the houſes are ſmall, and inhabited by perſons who live with difficulty upon the profits of their labour; ſo that one half of the pariſh has the burden (as it is called, and a heavy burden upon ſuch people it is) of ſupporting the other half. Hence the poor rate is never leſs than four, and is ſometimes eight ſhillings in the pound; while in *St. George's, Hanover-ſquare*, where your great dukes, lords, and potentates reſide, there is ſometimes not a ſingle pauper; and they are obliged to *hire a man to take charity*, that they may not be com-

pelled to take a ſhare of the poor's rate of the adjoining pariſh.

Citizens, wherever this burden reſts, we ſhall find that it is increaſing in a moſt alarming degree. I ſhall be obliged to recur for a little while to the dry ſtatement of figures and calculations to make this appear to its proper extent: but I ſhall endeavour to enliven them as much as the ſubject will permit.

Give me leave then to tell you that the facts come from the book which I have quoted ſo often before: "The Caſe of Labourers in Huſbandry".

You will find theſe facts in the 44th page of that work. For the reaſonings upon them which I interſperſed, I am myſelf accountable: let them be tried by the touchſtone of ſtrict examination. Having premiſed this, I ſhall proceed to ſtate to you the growth of the poors' rate from 1572 to the preſent time.

Citizens, the ſuppoſed amount in 1572—for in this firſt period I am to inform you that the calculations cannot be ſtated with the ſame preciſion as the latter inſtances. This however makes no difference as to the general argument as you will preſently ſee—The ſuppoſed amount then in 1572, was 200,000l. per year. Mark then the growth of this burthen during the firſt 113 years. It will be eminently inſtructive, as you will diſcover, when you come to compare it with the growth of other periods. In 1685, which was at the cloſe of the reign of Charles II. we are informed by Dr. Davenant, a very reſpectable and well-informed writer of thoſe times, that the poor rate then amounted to £.665362 per year. Thus in 113 years the increaſe of this annual burthen had ſwoln no more than about £.465,000. In 68 years afterwards, that is to ſay in the year 1753, ſeven years before the cloſe of George II's. reign (according to Henry Fielding, who was alſo a reſpectable and accurate writer) we are informed that it had increaſed to one million per year:—That is to ſay, it was £.335,000 per annum more in 1753 than in 1685. Now pleaſe to obſerve, for it is very well worth your attention, the proportion of this increaſe (that is the increaſe of year upon year, during the 68 years I mentioned laſt) and you will find that it was much the ſame, as during the 113 years I mentioned before: that is to ſay, the annual increaſe during the whole of the firſt period was £.4,118; and the annual increaſe, in the latter period, was £.4,921; ſo that

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the annual increaſe was not very conſiderably more in the one period than the other; and even the difference that did exiſt may eaſily be accounted for by the increaſed circulation, and conſequently the decreaſed value of money.

But now citizens we are come to ſpeak of facts of a very different deſcription, we come now, the Poet Laureat Pye would tell you, to the glorious, the happy the flouriſhing reign of George III. But I am no Poet Laureat, Citizens. I did once court the muſe a little; though I never muſed much for the court.

"But not in fancy's path I wander'd long,
"But ſtoop'd to truth, and moraliz'd my ſong."

I ſhall therefore ſpeak a plain but melancholy truth and ſay that we are now come to the calamitious, and diſaſtrous of George III. (*A hiſs ſolitary*, and conſequent *indignation* in the *audience*)

Be quiet, Citizens, do not ſuffer yourſelves to be thrown into confuſion, you know when the heel of truth preſſes hard upon the neck of the expiring ſerpent of error and deluſion, we muſt expect that he will hiſs a little. The hirelings and dependants of that ſyſtem of corruption which has produced theſe diſaſters, cannot be expected to bear the truths that may lead to an inveſtigation of the delinquency of their employers without emotion: and really, Citizens, I have reaſon to be very much obliged to perſons for interrupting me a little now and then; becauſe a man ſtanding in this ſituation, having nothing to work upon but his own ideas, is apt to grow a little dull and torpid or ſo; and a little ſtimulus—a little of the venom of falſehood ſpit in his face now and then, does him a great deal of good; and to tell you the truth, I believe the Miniſter is ſo much my friend, that he is kind enough to keep perſons conſtantly in pay, to take care that I ſhall not want ſo excellent a provocative.

I ſhall now proceed to ſhew you why I conſider it as a diſaſtrous reign. I don't conſider it as diſaſtrous becauſe we have loſt the *Thirteen Colonies* of America: we have gained the kingdom of Corſica as an exchange! and that I have no doubt will make us a very ample compenſation; and eſpecially as it realizes one of the titles of our auguſt ſovereign, at a time when he is much in danger of loſing another.

George

George III. by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland king, Defender of the Faith, and ſo forth. Such is the preſent ſtile and title. Now, perhaps, it may happen, that when we come to make peace (as by and by we muſt whether we will or no, becauſe we ſhall not have the means of carrying on the war) why then citizens we may perhaps loſe this titular gem of the Britiſh Crown—*King of France*. But though this, hitherto a mere empty name, may chance to be annihilated, remember that ample compenſation is made by that which has been hitherto a mere mockery, *Defender of the Catholic Faith*, being converted into a reality; his Majeſty being, by the new conſtitution of his new kingdom, bonnd to defend the Cathoiic faith, in Corſica; an acquiſition which he has ſo cheaply procured! and which, no doubt, he will as cheaply maintain!

Citizens—The reaſons why I call it a diſaſtrous reign I ſhall explain—and remember it is no reproach to the King, that it is diſaſtrous. Misfortune is not a crime in thoſe that ſuffer, but in thoſe whoſe ill conduct occaſion it. Where then is the diſloyalty of calling the reign diſaſtrous, if it be proved—and who will deny that it can be proved, that the King had no hand in making it diſaſtrous; that his only misfortune is, that he has always happened to chuſe a ſet of men for his miniſters with the ſame bad principles—and eager to propoſe and ſupport the ſame bad meaſures. What can he do which he has not done? He has tried change—He has tried conſtancy—He had three ſets of miniſters in a few months—He had one ſet of miniſters for thirteen years; and if neither change nor conſtancy would do, how can we be conſidered as cenſuring him when we lament the fatality! The plain truth is, there is "ſomething rotten in the ſtate of "Denmark,"—to wit, the rotten boroughs. In the diſaſtrous reign then, of George III. that is to ſay, in twenty-three years, from 1753 to 1776, ſixteen years of which were in the preſent reign, we find, from *the publiſhed accounts of overſeers*, that the medium of the poors' rates had amounted, *per annum*, to £.1,529,780—that is to ſay, during theſe twenty-three years there is an increaſe of £.529,780: which is more than the whole increaſe during an interval of 123 years, from 1572 to 1695.

This you may conſider as melancholy and alarming enough; but I am compelled to go on to a ſtatement ſtill more melancholy and alarming.

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Some Citizens may think that theſe ſtatements preſs hard upon the conductors of meaſures during theſe latter intervals—but I anſwer in the words of the poet:

" I muſt be cruel only to be kind:
" Thus bad begins, but worſe remains behind."

This worſe then I will ſtate to you with my uſual democratic plaineſs; and you will find that in nine years (the intervening period between 1776 and 1785) the medium produced upon caſting up the levies of three ſucceſſive years, is £. 2,004,238 *per annum* poors' rates only. Now, then, Citizens, what is the concluſion we draw from this? Why that, in nine years only, there is a greater increaſe of burden, in this individual reſpect, at leaſt, than there was in 113 years ending in 1685; ſo much for that part of the ſtatement.

There is another point of view in which I muſt place this circumſtance, which will more immediately convince you that this could only reſult from flagrant errors in the maxims and principles of government, or the miſconduct of thoſe adminiſtrations who have governed us during that period; and not from any proportionate decreaſe in the value of money, or increaſe in the real wealth and opulence of the country. We find then, Citizens, that from 1572 to 1685, the annual increaſe of the Poor's Rate (that is, the growing increaſe of year above year) was £4,118,000; that in the interim between 1685 and 1753, the annual increaſe was only £4,921,000:—that is to ſay, for nearly two hundred years the annual increaſe was nearly equal; and if we conſider the progreſſive improvements and alterations in the ſtate of ſociety, we ſhall find that this increaſe was little more than proportioned to the increaſe of the *quantity*, and conſequent decreaſe of the *value* of money: in other words, that the increaſe was rather nominal than real.—But, when we come to compare the facts during the next period, we find that, between 1753 and 1776, the increaſe is not £4000 per year, but £23,000; and that, from 1776 to 1785, the annual increaſe is not 23,000, but £52,719: that is to ſay, every ſucceeding year you have paid, for Poor Rate only, £52,719 more than you paid the year before.—As for what has taken place ſince 1785, I have no authentic documents that enable me to ſtate. But if you conſider the facts ſtated to you, from this tribune, in the former Lecture,—if you call to mind that, out of 40,000 inhabitants of *Norwich*, 25,000 were reduced to the neceſſity of taking relief from public charity;

that

that in *Marybone* parish only, 750 families, during last *January*, claimed relief from the parish, who had never received charity before: if you add to these facts, the enormous increase of your public burdens—if it is true, as in this book *(Ca. Lab. Husb.)* is stated upon apparently good authorities, that for every additional hundred million added to the national debt, there has always been an addition of half a million annually to the rates levied for the support of the poor, we shall find we cannot possibly calculate the present Poor's Rate at less than two million and a half; and that the probability is, that it is not much, if at all, under three millions,—paid out of the pockets of that class of mankind, who, living in the vicinity of poverty, are obliged to bear the burdens which poverty brings upon the parish.

Citizens, I have endeavoured here, in a chart which some of you may, perhaps, be curious enough to view, after the Lecture is over, to describe the increasing proportion of this public burden. You will find this drawing regularly divided in upright spaces, equal to the number of years described, by each division. You will there find that the burthen increased only gradually at first, but that it has since been spreading and spreading every year more rapidly than the former, till at this time it is spread to so immeasurable an extent, that it is frightful even to contemplate the growing load; especially when we consider how greatly it is increased by the voluntary contributions, which every man who has a heart must every now and then be putting his hand into his pocket to pay towards objects of distress. You will find, too, that I have described, by three pillars, three classes of society upon which it has been said the support of the nation equally depends.

I have represented, by the first pillar, the common people depressed and broken down; affording no longer, therefore, their proper strength and power to the government: for if you wish the common people to bear you up—if you would have your national dignity supported—if you would have your independence provided for, you must take care that that great and valuable column, the common mass of mankind, is not broken and cast down: for they, and they alone, can be the bulwark of your strength and defence; from them it is you receive your bread, and from them also you must receive your protection, if ever you should be obliged to struggle, at your own doors, against those depredations and mischiefs which you have endeavoured to carry to the doors of freemen in a neigh-

neighbouring country, that dared to diſcover, that, without freedom, there can be neither manhood nor rationality.

By the ſecond pillar, I have deſcribed the middling orders of ſociety, and endeavoured to ſhew you, that upon them it is that the whole weight of this particular burthen principally reſts.

The third column will ſpeak for itſelf. You will ſee that it is crowned with the Corinthian capital of poliſhed ſociety; and you will ſee, that it is towering aloft in proportion as the others are depreſſed; and that it only juſt touches, at one corner, the cumberous weight of burthens with which the others are preſſed down. This will, I believe, give you a picture, pretty accurate, of the increaſing miſchiefs of miſgovernment to the people; and it is ſo ſupported by facts, ſo ſtrengthened by reaſon and argument, that no ſophiſtry will be able to overthrow it: and though theſe lips ſhould be ſealed by the hand of perſecuting Deſpotiſm, even this little paltry draught ſhall ſpeak conviction; yea, theſe ſilent walls ſhall be eloquent of your wrongs, and rouſe the recollection in your minds, that there are beings in this country, full of power, full of grandeur, fortified by every connexion, greatneſs and affluence—commanding, at once, the ſword and the purſe of the nation, who tremble at the breath of popular enquiry, and cannot be content without the blood or deſtruction of all thoſe who dare to utter bold and honeſt truths.

If, Citizens, thoſe things that I have ſtated to you be facts—if my reaſonings and concluſions upon thoſe facts can be ſupported, have I not a right to call this a calamitous and diſaſtrous reign? Remember, I wiſh not to throw any odium upon an eminent individual—I wiſh not to direct your anger againſt individuals—I would ſtir you up to correct bad ſyſtems. Oh! that we could in all inſtances (even in thoſe of miniſterial corruption and oppreſſion) redreſs the wrong, without inflicting ſufferings upon him who does it. Oh! that we could, at all times, make Benevolence the hand-maid of Liberty, and free ourſelves from our chains, without being expoſed to the cruel and dire neceſſity of breaking them upon the heads of our oppreſſors!

If, then, I ſtruggle to exterminate from my breaſt (and I call the great deity Conſcience to bear me witneſs that ſuch is my wiſh) all malignity and revenge againſt the preſent adminiſtration, do not ſuppoſe I mean to ſtir up ungentle thoughts againſt an individual, who is as much wronged as yourſelves;

and who is obliged to bear the reproach, in a conſiderable degree, which is due, not to him, but to that ſyſtem of corruption ſo deeply implanted upon what once was the free conſtitution of Britian, that unleſs the enlightened efforts of the people (boldly but peaceably united together) exterminate it in time, all is loſt, and ruin and deſolation ſwallow us up for ever.

I wiſh to ſtate facts; draw your own concluſions. I think however you muſt agree with me that this is a calamitous and diſaſtrous reign: and one of the greateſt calamities is, as I have already ſtated, that in all the changes of adminiſtrations which have taken place during that reign, we find them all adopting the ſame principles. And ſurely, while I throw no reproach upon a powerful individual it is no High Treaſon to lament his misfortunes.

However at any rate, we muſt admit that this ſtate of the country is equally calamitous both to the auguſt perſonage, and to the people: to him the calamity is the loſs of that good name which would attach itſelf, in hiſtory, to the record of a reign in which the people had been happy and proſperous, the loſs, to a very conſiderable degree, of the affections of the people; the loſs of dominion and population.—But what is the calamity to the people? to them the misfortune is to ſee miſery ſtaring them in the face; to ſee their children, their parents, their relatives, butchered by the hand of war; to ſee war treading upon the heels of war; famine ſtalking in the train; and to hear nothing but cries of anguiſh and lamentation reſounding in their ears.

Such is the diſaſtrous ſituation to which the great body of the people are reduced. The voice of nature they muſt repreſs; wed they cannot; the door of ſocial happineſs is cloſed againſt them; it is not poſſible for many to taſte thoſe beſt endearments of the ſocial heart; becauſe a numerous iſſue is here, of all the diſaſters that can await upon man, the moſt calamitous: for who can bear to ſee his offspring ſubmit to that abject miſery which is now their lot? What rational being can reflect without horror, that whatever be his toil, whatever be his exertions, it is impoſſible for him to ſupport with comfort the infants to whom he has given birth; much leſs is it in his power to impart to them any of that information by which the mind is ſoftened and enlightened. Inſtead of this, the gathering gloom of ignorance, is to be ſpreading thicker and thicker throughout the country, and

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the great maſs of the people are to be doomed to no other hope or expectation, but to be brought up in a ſtate of privation of intellectual improvement, ſinking them almoſt to the condition of the brute creation; to drudge from morn to night, and almoſt from night to morn again, is here the only privilege of humanity: and all this for what? To increaſethe grandeur aud independence of the country? No—for ſhame, diſgrace, defeat—ſo that the diſaſters and the diſgraces go hand in hand; and it is difficult to ſay whether our preſent misfortunes are greater than our diſaſters, or our diſaſters greater than our misfortunes.

EXTRACTS *from* BLACKSTONE'S COMMENTARIES, *ſhewing the* NECESSITY *of a* PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

BOOK I. CHAP. II.

IN a a *free* ſtate, *every man*, who is ſuppoſed a free agent, ought to be in ſome meaſure his own governor; and therefore a branch at leaſt of the legiſlative power ſhould reſide in the WHOLE BODY OF THE PEOPLE.

Same Book and Chapter.

It is a matter moſt eſſential to the liberties of this kingdom, that ſuch members be delegated to this important truſt, as are moſt eminent for their probity, their fortitude, and their knowledge; for it is a known apothegm, of the great Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, "That England could never be ruined "but by a Parliament:" and as Sir Matthew Hale obſerves, this being the higheſt and greateſt court over which none other can have juriſdiction in the kingdom; if by any means a miſmanagement ſhould any way fall upon it, the ſubjects of this kingdom are left without all manner of remedy.

To

To the ſame purpoſe the Preſident Monteſquieu preſages, that as Rome, Sparta and Carthage have loſt their liberties, and periſhed, ſo the *Conſtitution of England* will in time loſe its liberty, will periſh: it will periſh, "*Whenever the Le-*
"*giſlative power ſhall become more corrupt than the execu-*
"*tive.*"

Whenever this time ſhould arrive Mr. Locke tells us, (on Gov. p. 2. Sec. 140. 227.)—"There remains ſtill in-
"herent *in the people* a *ſupreme power* to remove the legiſ-
"lative, when they find the legiſlative act contrary to the
"truſt repoſed in them: for, when ſuch truſt is abuſed, it
"is thereby *forfeited*, and devolves to thoſe who gave it."

Same Book and Chapter.

Mr. Blackſtone, who certainly was a Tory writer, as well as being Crown lawyer, and ſolicitor-general to the Queen, informs us, after deſcribing the Britiſh Conſtitution—"Not
"that I aſſert it in fact *quite ſo perfect* as I have here
"*endeavoured* to deſcribe it; for, if any alteration might be
"wiſhed or ſuggeſted in the preſent frame of Parliaments,
"it ſhould be in favour of a more complete repreſentation
"of the people."

THE TRIBUNE. N° XXXII.

Friſday, 2d October, 1795.

On the Cauſes of the INCREASING CALAMITIES, *of the* NATION. Part the Fourth—*Including an Examination of the Arguments againſt increaſing the* Wages *of the* INDUSTRIOUS POOR—*and Strictures on the* increaſing Luxury *and* Oſtentation *of* PLACEMEN, COURTIERS, *and their* DEPENDENTS.

CITIZENS,

TOWARDS the latter end of the laſt Lecture I had occaſion to apply a very marked epithet to the character of the preſent period. I had occaſion to ſpeak of it as a diſaſtrous reign: an expreſſion which gave ſo much offence to one or two individuals that they could not help expreſſing it in an unmanly manner. But this is not all, two or three perſons immediately, without ſtaying for any explanation, departed from the room.

If thoſe citizens are again preſent I pity their feelings very much: for I find myſelf compelled, upon a more cloſe and particular review, to begin this Lecture with the ſame ſort of language. I ſhall proceed immediately to ſhow you why we ought to conſider it as diſaſtrous. You will perceive, however, in the courſe of that examination, that no blame is imputable to a Royal Perſonage on that account; for we cannot ſurely accuſe any perſon of being criminal in proportion as he is unfortunate: nor could even the *metaphors* of *Burke*, or the *metaphyſics* of *Wyndham* prove that a man's misfortunes muſt inevitably be his guilt.

For my own part, I ſhall freely and fairly declare, that ſo far from meaning any thing perſonal in this reflection, I never wiſh, ſo long as I live, to ſee a better king upon the throne of Great Britain; and I mean to ſay more, that, if we indulge our reflections upon the circumſtances that have recently paſſed before our view, we ſhall find that we have very little reaſon to expect a better.

It is impoſſible alſo that I can mean any cenſure to the Royal perſonage, becauſe it is well known in this country, "A King can do no wrong." Whatever errors therefore I have to detail, you are to remember I am ſpeaking of the crimes and vices of the ſeveral adminiſtrations, which have unfortunately exiſted in this country during this reign, and not of the perſon by whoſe *name* that reign is diſtinguiſhed. To them the *guilt* attaches; but the misfortune attaches both to the king and the people. Nay, Citizens, I think there is ſufficient evidence to prove, that this great, auguſt and ſacred perſonage does himſelf conſider that theſe diſaſters really do exiſt; nay that the adminiſtration of the country are convinced that there are ſuch diſaſters: that unlike the ſometime ſovreign of another country, he is ſo little diſpoſed to ſleep over theſe diſaſters, that even *royal philoſophy* is not ſufficient to fortify his mind againſt the proſpect of thickening calamities; and therefore it is, that the caterers of his pleaſures have been ordered to hurry him to *Dutch fairs* at *Frogmore*, and to ſend expreſſes to *Sadler's Wells*, to fetch the moſt expert tumblers to *Weymouth*, to recreate the royal mind, and diſſipate uneaſy reflection.

Having thus explained myſelf to mean no reproach to the *beſt of kings*, but to apply ſimply all blame and cenſure to his adminiſtrations; and particularly to the preſent moſt uſurping miniſters. Having ſaid thus much, permit me to aſk you, have there or have there not been many diſaſters during the preſent reign? Was it no diſaſter to this country that we ſhould be torn to pieces by thoſe extravagant factions that exiſted under the *open* and under the *ſecret* adminiſtration of Lord Bute? Were the tumults that took place in an early period in St. George's Fields, and the record of which is ſtill written in blood upon young Allen's tomb, no diſaſters? Was his fall

no

no diſaſter to his friends in particular? and from the circumſtances that followed, and the penſions that a bad adminiſtration cauſed to be beſtowed, was it no diſaſter to the country? Were the tumults in in the year 1780 no diſaſters? Were the innumerable executions that followed thoſe tumults, no diſaſters either? when not content that the cruel diſaſters of the times ſhould compel a malignant execution in the ſtreets of London, and that four or five hundred ſhould have fallen by the bayonets of the ſoldiers, it was thought neceſſary that under the auſpices of an individual, who now bears the higheſt office of the law, more ſhould be tried, caſt, and condemned by twenties and thirties in a lot.

Are the diſturbances of recent date no calamities? Is it no diſaſter that in this country it has been *found* or *thought* neceſſary, by a wiſe and virtuous adminiſtration, led by a heaven-born miniſter, that proſecution and perſecution ſhould rage from one extremity of the country to the other, and that *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, ſhould be frightened and ſcarified with rumours of falſe plots and fabricated charges of high treaſon, till at length, in the laſt of theſe countries, the irritated mind has been driven to ſomething which *looks* like treaſon indeed—and that in a very formidable ſhape?—Such are the melancholy but inevitable conſequences of perſecution for opinion! *men who find it no longer ſafe to think, ruſh into that violence for which thought is not neceſſary!* thought and diſcuſſion are neceſſary for political reform.—Violence and confuſion can be produced without any diſcuſſion whatever!

Citizens, is the war that ſtill rages throughout Europe, and in which this country has ſo conſiderable a ſhare no diſaſter? Was the American war which laſted ſeven years, is ſuppoſed to have coſt 200,000 lives, and almoſt 140,000,000l. of Engliſh money—was this no calamity? Is the preſent war no diſaſter, whoſe ſtrides towards national ruin and general deſolation have been ſo gigantic as to mock to ſcorn the pigmy efforts of former carnage, and to bring us at once, as it were, to the acme of profligacy, deſolation and frenzy?—When we conſider that almoſt the whole continent of Europe has been made a ſcene of ſlaughter and deſolation!—that the friends of freedom have fallen by the hands of thoſe who ſhould be free!—

champions by the hands of Britons!—is there no calamity think you in this unnatural ſtruggle?

The number of lives loſt to this country by this war I have not ſufficient documents to ſtate; and I ſhall not attempt to amuſe you with rude conjecture. But of that which according to miniſterial calculation, is more eſtimable than human life (I mean property) we have the documents that will enable us to prove that in two years 70,000,000l of Britiſh gold have been waſted and diſſipated: (ſeventy millions reduced to three per cent.) have been added to that national debt, of which not only ourſelves, but our poſterity, to the end of time, according to the preſent ſyſtem, muſt bear the burden. Villanous injuſtice! baſe robbery upon poſterity! their conſent certainly never could be taken, either by themſelves or repreſentatives, real or pretended, for accumulating that burden. What right then have we to lay that burden upon their ſhoulders?

Is emigration no calamity? Is it no calamity that, in one year 80,000 Britons ſhould have emigrated from this country? I include *Ireland* in this general deſcription and calculation—for I am not very fond of thoſe diſtinctions of *Engliſhmen*, *Scotchmen* and *Iriſhmen*, upon which national vanity ſometimes piques itſelf. I revere the unity and brotherhood of the three; and embrace them all as equal parts of one great family. Is it no calamity, that, in ſpite of the heavy burdens of poors' rates accumulated upon the ſhoulders of the middling orders, the great maſs of the people ſhould be reduced to ſuch miſery that the wages of their induſtry will not provide them and their families with bread?

If theſe are diſaſters—if theſe are calamities, ſurely we have a right to lament the calamity: taking care, at the ſame time, to fix the criminality upon the right ſhoulders. I think I ſhall be enabled, in the progreſs of this diſcuſſion, to ſhow that thoſe are the ſhoulders of the Borough-mongers: beings who *without any conſtitutional right or authority*, take upon themſelves to diſpoſe of the voices, liberties, and lives of their fellow citizens; and then have the audacity to call their arbitrary appointments preſentations.

But,

But, Citizens, let me proceed ſtep by ſtep in this enquiry: for I have endeavoured to give a regular and conſiſtent form to this courſe of lectures, that when they come to be printed they may form one connected ſeries and ſyſtem. This I have done at the expence I aſſure you of very conſiderable labour—labour under which my health has been in danger of ſinking—but I have this honeſt conviction that I cannot expend my life better than in the ſervice of my country; and I believe I act the more manly part, when I prefer loſing that life in the field of reaſon, to that of ſlaughter.

Let me proceed then regularly from the ſteps which I have taken in the former lecture; and go on to conſider what are the pleas that are made uſe of, what the pretences brought forward to ſhow that the condition of the laborious orders of ſociety ought not to be improved. It has been ſaid, that though the condition of the laboring part of mankind is in reality calamitous to a conſiderable degree, though they are in reality as badly off as I have repreſented them (for my facts came from ſuch authorities that it is impoſſible to deny them—authorities perfectly impartial—that ſeem to have no inclination whatever in favour of ſuch Jacobinical traitors, as dare to think of parliamentary reform—authorities which ſpeak ſimply of facts and leave it to every honeſt man to draw his own concluſions!)—It has been ſaid, then, by thoſe who find themſelves compelled to admit that the induſtrious poor are not in reality properly rewarded for their toil, that this is a calamity which no government can poſſibly remedy—becauſe, ſay they, it will be ruinous to our trade and commerce to increaſe the wages of labourers and manufacturers.

What, Citizens, ruinous to our trade and commerce to ſuffer the real tradeſmen, the men who create that commerce, to get a decent and comfortable livelihood by their induſtry! what, ruinous to our trade and commerce to do juſtice to thoſe but for whoſe toil and exertions we could have neither trade, commerce nor any other bleſſing or advantage whatever! I for my own part am not very much inclined to build my concluſions upon expedients. I wiſh always to build upon principles: and principle tells me that *the labourer* in whatever department of life, *is worthy of his hire*; and that he cannot be ſaid to receive his hire unleſs

unleſs by his induſtry he is enabled to procure a comfortable ſubſiſtence for himſelf and family.

Let us talk no more of charity—let us talk no more of benevolence in theſe caſes—but of the great eternal principles of juſtice! and laying our hands upon our hearts let us put to ourſelves this queſtion, "By what right, by "what authority do I wallow in luxury, while thoſe who "have produced that luxury are writhing in the gripe of "famine, or, at beſt pining in hopeleſs penury?"

But it happens, in this caſe, as in moſt, that take which courſe they will—contend for principle or contend for expediency, the enemies to the rights and liberties of mankind muſt be baffled. It is perfectly indifferent what the ſort of foundation is upon which they build their arguments againſt ameliorating the condition of the great maſs of mankind. I think I can defeat every art of ſophiſtry they can uſe even upon their own favourite foundation of expediency; and prove that the arguments they take ſhelter under, cannot be ſupported.

You ſay that if you ameliorate the condition of the great body of the people—if you make their wages proportionate now to what they were in early periods, comparatively with the price of the neceſſaries of life, your flouriſhing commerce muſt periſh: and it is ſuppoſed, forſooth, that though our *commerce* is to periſh that our *conſtitution* may live, or what our metaphyſical haranguers in the Houſe of Commons mean by conſtitution—that is the ſacred immunities of rotten boroughs—yet we are not to ſay, periſh our commerce rather than our people ſhould be reduced to ſtarving miſery. But upon what pretence do you affirm that you cannot do juſtice to the common people without deſtroying your commerce? Look at your great commercial men—your opulent manufacturers—your merchants who can afford to banquet prime miniſters, even in this age of luxury and diſſipation, when a prime miniſter muſt put into his mouth, every time it opens, that which in point of expence would ſatisfy a poor family for a year! Are their ſplendid palaces, a proof of this? thoſe pompous edifices which, inſtead of being the counting-houſes of tradeſmen, a ſtranger to our manners and polity would ſuppoſe were temples of Pagan deities: and temples of Pagan deities indeed they are—or rather of one deity—

of

of Plutus, god of pelf—upon whoſe ſhrine the happineſs—the very exiſtence of thouſands is imolated by the unfeeling and rapacious prieſts who officiate at thoſe altars. Is this increaſing grandeur—this growing magificence a proof that the profits of our commerce will not afford proportionate wages to the authors and creators of that commerce? Look, if you pleaſe, a little further. Behold the ſplendid equipages, and pompous inſolence of thoſe who fatten upon the wages of corruption, and whoſe only profits are derived from over-taxing a hardly-treated people—whoſe grandeur, whoſe titles, and the *hereditary honours* of whoſe children are the proud rewards of doing the dirty work of a miniſter. Let us conſider alſo the great increaſe of taxes with which it is found neceſſary for thoſe good, glorious, wiſe, and excellent purpoſes, that the trade, commerce and agriculture of the nation ſhould be ſaddled.

Perhaps it will ſhock your prejudices to hear it; yet remember, that thoſe very men whom you ſcorn, and whom you pretend you cannot afford to pay in a better manner for their labour, do, in reality, produce and pay the whole of the taxes thus laviſhed, for thoſe worthy purpoſes. They produce the whole of that which produces the money with which thoſe taxes are paid. Theirs' is the creating toil which produces the reſources of agriculture, the materials of traffic, and the baſis of commerce.

See then the inordinate increaſe of taxation which the product of their labour is capable of bearing. In little more than a century, our taxes have ariſen from two millions, according to ſome calculations, to between 20 and 30 millions per year. Yet we are told that no part of theſe taxes can be ſpared. Why can they not be ſpared? becauſe there are ſo many places, penſions, emoluments—ſo many commiſſaries and contractors to be taken care of, that government pays for every thing through the noſe: therefore, it is impoſſible to decreaſe this load of taxation, whatever may be the miſery of the people who bear it.

But let us conſider whether a part of this taxation ought not to come, particularly in thoſe melancholy times, from the pockets of thoſe who have profited by former

former abuſes. No, ſay the miniſtry—no ſay the oppoſition —for in this theme they will join together in harmonious duetto, and ſupport a common cauſe by common exertions. No, you muſt not touch thoſe ſacred things called places and penſions. They are not liable to taxation. "It muſt be "a mere joke," ſays *Pitt*. "The gentlemen muſt mean to "laugh with us a little—A droll conceit, indeed, that we "ſhould be ſuch idiots as to tax our own places and penſions. "O yes," ſays *Fox*, "it can only be a joke: patent places "are as ſacred as any man's eſtate. You muſt never think "of taxing them."

Ah! ſay ye ſo? Whigs and Tories ſay ye ſo? And would none of thoſe landed gentlemen who are ſo fond of aſſociating to protect their property, get up and anſwer this ſtrange aſſertion? "Is it ſo indeed? Are patent places as ſacred and "inviolable as our eſtates? Then *what ſecurity have we for "thoſe eſtates?* Are not our eſtates taxed for the creation and "maintenance of theſe ſinecures? Are not all places and "penſions paid by taxation? If then ſinecures and penſions, "thus created from public plunder, are ſacred, and muſt not "be touched even with the little finger of taxation, and a "venal Cabinet, ſupported by a corrupt Parliament, can "create what ſinecures and penſions they think fit, what ſecu- "rity have we that our whole eſtates may not, in proceſs of "time, be converted into penſions and ſinecures? Why "may not the Crown, by means of taxation, become ſole pro- "prietor, and no individual property remain but places and "penſions?"

But the cauſe of complaint ſtops not here. The revenues of the rich may be increaſed by their own authority, but the revenues of labouring men muſt not. The revenues of Princes may be augmented, but the pay of peaſants and manufacturers muſt not. You are told by the wiſe, virtuous oppoſition in the Houſe of Lords, that the neceſſaries and luxuries of life have ſo increaſed in their price, that you ought to give 25,000 a year more to the preſent Prince of Wales, with no family, than you did to the late Prince of Wales with a numerous family. Is this a proof, that if you increaſed the pay of the common people, your trade and commerce would be ruined? Is it another proof of this that we can afford, out of the earnings of induſtry, to ſubſidize all the deſpots of Europe? Nay to ſend Ambaſſadors, with tears in their eyes, to Emperors ſuſpected of being a little ſick of the war, to pray them to keep on the war at the expence of John Bull?

Bull? who though he cannot afford to keep his own peaſantry from ſtarving, can afford to keep up the pomp of the regular and orderly government of Auſtria, for which all Engliſhmen muſt entertain ſo ſacred a veneration!!!

Can we afford alſo to ſupport all the ariſtocrats, rebels, Chouans, and the banditti of Brittany, who choſe to uphold their voices and their arms againſt the general ſentiment of their country? Can we afford all this? Can we afford in Ireland and on our coaſts to maintain magazines of live ſtock (all our ſalted proviſions being already exhauſted) to ſupply the midnight murderers of Brittany, becauſe they chooſe to honour the cauſe of Gallic Royalty by their ſupport? and at the ſame time pretend that we cannot afford to ſave thoſe from ſtarving who are the very prop of our exiſtence? Can we alſo, while ſo exceedingly poor, afford to ſend ſplendid embaſſies to China, that ſome great and mighty lord may be decorated with new diſtinctions for having ſeen his ſublime highneſs the Emperor take his whiff of tobacco, and then order his attendants to turn him out of the court again? Can we, alſo, in deſpite of this poverty, afford to ſupport, at an immenſe expence, a barren Corſican mountain, whoſe ſoil is ſterility, and the product of whoſe loyalty, or ſeeds of loyalty, it ſeems, are anarchy, and ambitious contention? Can we, I ſay, afford to do all this, at the expence of ſo many millions a year, and yet pretend that we cannot afford, notwithſtanding all this convicted, (I was going to uſe a very hard word but I will only call it) prodigality in every branch and department of adminiſtration, to pay our labourers wages competent to their ſubſiſtence? Can our rulers, while thus overwhelming us with additional burdens, and then inſulting us, by ſaying that our very defeats, diſaſters, and and diſgraces, are reaſons why we ought not to withdraw from a ridiculous cruſade! Can our rulers, in the midſt of all this, ſay, that to increaſe the wages of the poor is to deſtroy our trade and commerce? But under the preſent ſyſtem I confeſs, it *is* impoſſible to ameliorate the condition of the lower orders. So long as rotten boroughs, and the ſyſtem of rotten borough-mongering ſhall continue, I will be bold to ſay, that it *is* totally impoſſible for any amelioration of any claſs of the people, ex-

cept the higher claſſes to take place: and why, Citizens, let me aſk you, under the preſent ſyſtem? What is it that is ſo formidable that ſhould prevent us from having any amelioration of our condition?

Citizens, this queſtion is anſwered by another. Who make our laws and regulations? *Borough-mongers!* For whoſe benefit then may the laws and regulations be expected to be made? *For the benefit of the Borough-mongers!!!* Now who are the borough-mongers?

Citizens, it is in vain for corruption to make herſelf formidable; deſpicable vice will have the contempt of every thinking man, and corruption is the worſt of vices! It is in vain then that theſe borough-mongers attempt to graſp, through the means of corruption, at the terrors that were intended only to protect the ſovreign himſelf. It is in vain that they graſp at all power, conſequence, and influence; that the ſword of the nation is held by them in one hand, and the purſe in the other. All this phyſical and political ſtrength they may have, but they have no moral ſtrength; and therefore it is impoſſible that they ſhould command our veneration. Let them indict us for high treaſon to all eternity—our hearts will ſtill rebel againſt this ſyſtem of rotten-borough uſurpation, and, inſtead of reſpecting will, expoſe them!

Who are thoſe rotten borough-mongers then? They conſiſt of two deſcriptions of men. The firſt and moſt reſpectable are the *great landed proprietors*. I ſay the moſt reſpectable—and I uſe the term in its proper and moral ſenſe. The next are *political intriguers and paraſites*; who by the baſeſt proſtitution to every ſucceſſive adminiſtration, having amaſſed great property, chooſe to buy up ſeats in the Houſe of Commons, whereas it ſtands recorded upon their own Journals, that "Seats are as regularly bought and ſold as ſtandings "for cattle at a fair."

Theſe men buy ſeats in parliament as the beſt way of turning their ill-gotten property to advantage; and I could name you ſome of this deſcription, who have, within theſe two years, bought up boroughs by the half ſcore. In ſhort we may expect to have them put up openly to auction by and by, and ſold by the candle. I ſhall ſhew you that they are almoſt as bad already.

Well, then, theſe pimps and drudges of adminiſtration buy up theſe boroughs, in order to increaſe their grandeur and conſequence. Some of them perhaps have names that they

they are aſhamed of, and therefore want to buy *cant names*, that their proper ones may be forgotten; others wiſh to have an opportunity to increaſe the peculation they have carried on, and render themſelves ſo formidable, that whoever becomes miniſter muſt give them a little douceur to keep them quiet. —Both theſe deſcriptions are men whom the miniſter muſt pleaſe: and how are they to be pleaſed? I believe you will find that the *reſpectables* and the *contemptibles*, though in ſome degree, in a different way, are both to be ruled by means hoſtile to the welfare of the people. The great landed proprietor muſt have ſuch regulations made as will increaſe his rent-roll. Thus a bounty is to be offered for the exportation of corn, when below a certain par in price: by which means care is taken that it ſhall not continue under that price. By this virtuous meaſure the money is taken out of the people's pockets, that they may have the privilege of buying their bread ſo much the dearer. With the ſame view they alſo forbid the importation of foreign wheat unleſs Engliſh wheat is above a particular price. They are, alſo, to be encouraged in encloſures—I do not mean to ſay that encloſures are not good things, when carried on upon a juſt principle. I do not wiſh to ſee barren heaths, and a few wandering ſheep here and there, with their fleeces torn by briars. I wiſh to ſee golden fertility ſmile throughout the country: and therefore encloſures are good. But how are they good? Not when they take away the right of the poor to encreaſe the property of the rich. Let me tell you, no gentleman whatever be his eſtate, rank, or diſtinction, holds his eſtate by a better title than the poor people hold their right of commonage in the country. They are moſt of them granted by charters—perhaps from thoſe who had no right to grant them: but do not let us be fond of ſtarting ſuch queſtions. By what title *John of Gaunt* held his eſtate, I ſhall not enquire: but when *John of Gaunt* bequeathed the right of commonage to the inhabitants of thoſe diſtricts where thoſe commons lay, and their heirs for ever, he bequeathed them as valid a title as any freeholder can boaſt: every man therefore encloſing theſe commons, without the conſent of the poor inhabitants, and without an equivalent to them and their poſterity, commits a robbery upon the people; I care not by what authority it may be ſanctioned.

But encloſures are ſnug things. They make an eſtate more valuable; and a miniſter muſt not quarrel with thoſe

who have the power of ſending two, four, ſix, or eight members to parliament; becauſe, if he does, notwithſtanding his virtue and his wiſdom, a heaven-born miniſter would find himſelf in a minority; while, by an oppoſite conduct, a hell-born miniſter would be enabled to ſecure a majority.

Hence we have encloſures; hence, alſo, we have large farms: for when the peaſantry and common people have no votes in the choice of repreſentatives, can we be ſo abſurd as to ſuppoſe any repreſentative would ſtand up for regulations to prevent the monopoly of farms, although this monopoly entails miſery upon the great body of the people.

Citizens, it is to be proved by a variety of authorities—and I particularly refer you to this book, which, on account of the valuable facts it contains, ought to be publiſhed at ſixpence inſtead of half a guinea, and I can ſupport it from my own knowledge,—that in a majority of pariſhes, where formerly you might find nine, twelve, fifteen, you will now find five, ſix or ſeven farms only: you will find the cottages pulled down: you will find ſeveral families huddled together in an old farm-houſe; and a large farm is engroſſed by one man, who is a farmer only in name; but in effect a commercial ſpeculator in an article which ought not to be permitted to be an object of ſpeculative commerce in any country whatever; becauſe by ſuch ſpeculations you ſtarve people by millions. Hence alſo, foreſtalling and monopoly uplift their heads; and grave ſenators meet together, in ſage debate, to repeal the laws made to repreſs thoſe monopoliſts.

In the *Times* of this day, a paper equally to be celebrated for impudence and ignorance; and therefore a very proper inſtrument for the preſent adminiſtration—In the *Times* of to-day, we have two acts of parliament cited, the 5th and 6th of Edw. VI. together with a ſtrong incitement to perſons to turn informers upon thoſe who violate thoſe acts.

I ſhall not read the act quoted; it being, though made ſo early, encumbered with three times as many words as were neceſſary: for you know we have a great many lawyers in parliament; and it is to their intereſt to make ſuch laws that nobody can underſtand them but themſelves: Nay, they ſucceed better when they make ſuch they cannot themſelves underſtand; becauſe then they can ſpeak on both ſides of the queſtion, without danger of contradicting themſelves. In this act it ſeems ſeveral proviſions were made to prevent monopolies and foreſtalling;

after

after quoting this act, the wise editors of the *Times* (O what wise times these are!) have these reflections—"As "these offences are frequent throughout the kingdom, "but particularly so with respect to *corn* and *cattle* sold in "the *London* market; and as there is so much encouragement to any one who thinks proper to proceed on this "most useful of all laws," (mark they acknowledge that this was the most useful of all laws) "and as carrying "the act of 5 and 6 Edw. VI. into execution, would be "attended with *the blessings of all the poor*, it is matter "of astonishment that it is not more frequently enforced."

So says the wise *Editor* of the *Times*: but I happen to hold in my hand at this time an act of parliament made in the year 1772, which I believe was after the reign of Edw. VI.—at least I rather suppose so; but perhaps the *Times* know better. This act in January 1772, begins thus—"At the parliament begun and holden at "Westminster the tenth day of May, *Anno Domini* 1768, "in the eighth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, "George the Third, by the grace of God of Great Britain, *France*, and Ireland, king, Defender of the Faith, "&c. and from thence continued by several prorogations "to the 21st day of January 1772, being the fourth "session of the thirteenth parliament of Great Britain." Well, how, is this act entitled?—"*An act for repealing "several laws therein mentioned against badgers, engrossers, "forestallers, and regrators; and for indemnifying persons "against prosecutions for offences committed against the said "acts.*" Now, then, mark: I shall read the body of the act throughout, because I have been told (and I have not given myself the trouble to enquire whether it be true or not) that if a man prints an act of parliament, not being the king's printer, he is liable to be punished—I will not enquire whether this be true; because it seems impossible: but I will try whether a man be liable to punishment for making known what the laws are: for printed it shall be in the Tribune, I assure you.

"Whereas it has been found, by experience, that the "restraints laid by statutes upon dealing in corn, meal, "flour, cattle, and sundry other sorts of victuals, by preventing a free trade in the said commodities, have a "tendency to discourage the growth, and to enhance

"the

" the price of the ſame; which ſtatutes, if put in exe-
" cution, would bring great diſtreſs upon the inhabitants
" of many parts of this kingdom, and in particular upon
" thoſe of the cities of London and Weſtminſter"—So much for the *preamble*—that is to ſay, the *pretence*—the buſineſs of which is, you know, always to put the beſt face on the thing. " Be it therefore enacted by the King's
" moſt excellent Majeſt, by and with the advice and con-
" ſent of the Lords Spiritual and temporal, and Com-
" mons in this preſent Paliament aſſembled; and by the
" authority of the ſame, That an act made in the 3d and
" 4th year of King Edward VI. entitled, 'An act for
" the buying and ſelling of butter and cheeſe' and alſo
" *an act made in the 5th and 6th year of the reign of King*
" *Edward* VI. *entituled, An Act againſt regrators, foreſtallers*
" *and engr ſſers*; and alſo an act made in the 3d year
" of *Philip* and *Mary*, entituled, 'An Act for the keeping
" of milch kine, and for the breeding and rearing of
" calves;' and alſo an act made in the 5th year of *Queen*
" *Elizabeth*, entituled, 'An Act touching badgers of corn,
" and drovers of cattle, to be licenſed;' and alſo an act
" made in the 15th year of *Kin Charles* II. entituled, 'An
" Act to prevent the ſelling of live fat cattle, by butchers,
" and ſo much of an act made in the 5th year of *Queen*
" *Anne*, entituled, 'An Act for continuing the laws
" therein mentioned relating to the poor, and to the
" buying and ſelling of cattle in *Smithfield*, and for ſup-
" preſſing of piracy,' as relates to butchers ſelling of
" cattle alive or dead, within the cities of *London* and
" *Weſtminſter*, or within ten miles thereof; and all the acts
" made for the better enforcement of the ſame, being de-
" trimental to the ſupply of the labouring and manufactur-
" ing poor of this kingdom, ſhall be, and the ſame are
" hereby declared to be repealed."

Now pleaſe to remember, that among theſe is the very act quoted by the *Times*; and which is called by the writers of that paper, a moſt wiſe and excellent act; and the execution of which we are called upon to enforce.—
" and be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid,
" that all informations, indictments, ſuits or proſe-
" cutions" (ſuch as the *Times* recommend to be commenced) " already commenced for the inflicting any pu-
" niſhment, or for the recovery of any fine, penalty or

for-

" forfeiture under the ſaid former acts, or any of them, ſhall
" ceaſe and determine, and no further proceedings ſhall be had
" thereupon; and that no information, indictment, ſuit or
" proſecution ſhall be commenced or proſecuted againſt any
" perſon or perſons whatſoever, under or by virtue of the
" ſaid acts or any of them; and that all ſuch proceedings
" ſhall be void, and of no effect, any law, ſtatute, or uſage
" to the contrary, notwithſtanding."

And now, Citizens, I think you will ſee ſomething of the degree of information poſſeſſed by thoſe perſons, ſuppoſed to be employed by the preſent adminiſtration, to enforce reſpect and obedience to the laws: who are calling upon their ſpies, informers, and magiſtrates to carry into effect theſe ſelf ſame acts againſt monopolies and foreſtalling which by the act I have read to you have been repealed.

Now, Citizens, I ſhall proceed, in a very brief way, to the manner in which the ſecond claſs of borough-mongers are to be dealt with. They are to be kept in good humour, with places, penſions, patronage, and the like: that is to ſay they are to fatten on the public plunder.

Theſe are the abuſes which ſwallow up the national revenue: and as thoſe rewards, which muſt be conferred upon theſe borough-mongers to keep them in good humour, increaſe the taxes, this is another argument why we cannot afford to pay the labourers ſo much as would enable them to eat.

In fact, the concluſion is, that taxes are levied to buy up the borough-mongers, and then the borough-mongers vote for freſh taxes, to reward the Miniſter and his dependants in ſuch a manner as to him, in his great wiſdom, ſhall ſeem meet. Thus then it is, that by the ſyſtem of borough-mongering—not by the vices of an individual, but the neceſſities which grow out of the ſyſtem of corruption, proceeds this heavy weight which lies upon the ſhoulders of the people, and which has bowed them down to miſery and misfortune, perpetually increaſing, without any proſpect of relief.

But if you want further proof I ſhall proceed to give it you. I think I ſhall be able to prove to you, in the firſt place, that the progreſs of taxation and the progreſs of corruption have always been commenſurate, that as one has increaſed the other has increaſed alſo; which is to me ſome preſumption, I think, in favour of the concluſion, that the ſyſtem of enormous taxation grows out of the borough-mongering ſyſtem. But I ſhall not ſtop here. I will leave preſumption to the advocates of a preſumptuous miniſter. They

ſtand

ſtand moſt in need of it. But I ſhall clearly ſhew you the way in which this corruption is made uſe of to increaſe this taxation. And I ſhall ſhew you alſo the manner in which that taxation is made uſe of to increaſe corruption; and by which alone corruption can be increaſed.

I am now obliged to proceed to a part of my ſubject which will make me, for a few minutes, perhaps, very dry and unentertaining. But I muſt claim your attention, becauſe we muſt, firſt of all, have facts. If declaiming by the hour would anſwer the eſſential purpoſe of theſe Lectures, that I could do with much more eaſe, and perhaps much more applauſe than what I am now doing.

I ſhall now proceed to ſtate from authentic documents, the growth of our national burdens. In 1685 the revenue of the government was 2,061,856l; the national debt nothing at all; and, of courſe, the intereſt nothing at all. But by and by we had a glorious revolution! and, in 1703, that is to ſay in 18 years afterwards, the aſſeſſed revenue, collected by government, amounted annually to 5,561,944l.; a national debt was contracted of 16,394,702; the annual intereſt of which was 1,310,942l. In 1753, that it is to ſay fifty years after, the burden of the revenue was increaſed to 6,690,000l. the national debt to 74,571,840l. and the intereſt of it to 2,396,717.

We proceed next to the cloſe of 1760, which is ſeventeen years more. At this time we find the burden of the national revenue increaſed to £.7,101,067; the national debt increaſed to £.88,604,836; and the intereſt to £.2,445,360.

Now then, Citizens, let us pauſe a little while, and obſerve what are the concluſions from this ſtatement of facts. The concluſions are theſe,—that in ſeventy-five years, from the end of Charles the Second, to the end of George the Second, the burden of the revenue had increaſed from two millions to ſeven; the debt from nothing to better than eighty-eight millions and a half; and the intereſt to two millions and an half. Such was the increaſe for ſeventy-five years previous to the preſent reign.

I now come to ſpeak of the reign of George the Third: and as this is conſecrated ground, I ſhall tread it with conſequent reverence and precaution. In three ſteps I have bounced over a ſpace of ſeventy-five years. I ſhall now take ſlower and ſhorter ſtrides. We find, according to the hiſtory of the firſt ten years of *George* the Third, publiſhed by *Evans*, Paternoſter-Row, that in the firſt year of this reign, the ſupplies amounted to the enormous ſum 19,616,119l. including a loan

loan of 12 million to be added to the national debt. I go then to the year 1 75, that is to ſay, to the end of the ſpace of 15 years, which is the longeſt ſtage I ſhall make during this part of the journey. In the ſpace of 15 years we ſhall find a very diſproportionable increaſe indeed: and I have the facts, in the "Caſe of the Labourers in "Huſbandry," and *Cunningham's* "Hiſtory of the Na-"tional Debt and Taxes," which will prove it. I ſhall not proceed to the formality of quoting every particular page. That would make the lecture more dull than even calculations themſelves require.—But I ſhall briefly ſtate, that in 15 years the annual burden increaſed from ſeven millions to ten; the national debt from 88 to near 136 millions; and the intereſt from about two millions and a half to about four millions and a half.

Such then, Citizens, was the increaſe during the firſt fifteen years. But ſnow-balls and taxes have an inevitable tendency to gather as they roll; and the larger they become, the greater is the growing accumulation collected in their paſſage. We will now ſee what are the additions made to this ſnow-ball in the next eleven years. From the year 1775 to 1786 is a memorable æra in the annals of taxation and finance.

In the year 1786, the collected revenue, that is to ſay, the annual burden upon the ſhoulders of the people, had amounted to near 14 millions and a half—the debt was ſwollen to upwards of 239 millions, and the intereſt to more than nine millions and a quarter.

Citizens, theſe calculations are dry work. We have but nine years more however to travel over; and of theſe we will make but a ſingle ſtage.

In the beginning of this period commenced the famous project for paying off the national debt. I ſhall proceed to ſhow you how the Miniſter has paid this; and how much poſterity are indebted to him for the project. I find by Morgan's "Review of the Writings of Dr. Price," which I believe will be admitted as no mean authority, that in nine years, about 14 *millions of* 3 *per cents.* have been paid off; which do not amount to one 27th part of the aforementioned debt; or 9d in the pound upon the whole. In leſs than three years I find, alſo, that 70 *millions of* 3 *per cents.* have been added to that debt! So that

you have paid with one hand 14 millions, and borrowed 70 with the other. The upshot of which is, that we have paid the national debt in so excellent a way, that we are at this time 56 millions worse than when we began.

What then, Citizens, is the debt at this time, according to this calculation? Why, Citizens, the debt has decreased in such an Irish proportion, that it amounts to 295 millions of money: for which your labour, your faculties, your liberties—and the labour, faculties, and liberties of all your posterity, to the end of time, are pledged and mortgaged. The interest of the debt alone is about 11 millions annually; and the national burden, independent of poors' rates and other assessments of the respective parishes and districts, perhaps more than twenty.

Such are the blessed effects of this system of modern œconomy!

Let us now proceed to a slight recapitulation; and then bring our calculations home. You will remember, that in 75 years, from the end of the reign of *Charles* the Second, to the end of *George* the Second, a burden of two millions of taxes increased to seven. Now let us see what the proportion of increase has been during the last five and thirty years. Why in considerably less than half the time, the increase is nearly thrice as great; so that the progress of this fatal accumulation is in reality at this time increased and increasing in a proportion of more than six to one, in comparison with any former period. And how is this? Why Citizens, the rage of corruption has increased. Successive combinations of bad ministers have reduced this corruption to a system, which has been supported by the system of borough-mongering, unfortunately grown and spread to so enormous a degree during the present reign: a growth, remember, which I attributed not to the King but to his Ministers. Upon their heads the constitution of the country has placed the responsibility of all vicious measures: and though I am not for sanguinary responsibility, I am for the responsibility of reason and justice; and I am for resting that responsibility where the constitution has placed it.

At the bar of their country then I consider those ministers as standing, and careless of the abusive witticisms of their hirelings, who may nickname me the *Public Accuser*,

cuſer, thus publicly I do accuſe them of increaſing the national debt, in the ſpace of 35 years, from 88 millions and a half to 295 millions; I do accuſe them of having increaſed the annual burden, in the ſame ſpace of time, conſiderably more than fourfold; the annual intereſt alone of this national debt, which in 1760, was leſs than two millions and a half, amounting at this time to eleven millions!

Citizens, I am ſorry that with reſpect to the whole collected revenue, I am not in poſſeſſion of facts to ſtate the growth with ſufficient accuracy. I ſhall not inſult you with any groſs conjectures: and it would be ſtrange, indeed, if I had not ſome imperfections of this kind occaſionally to confeſs, when it it is conſidered how faſt theſe Lectures tread one upon the heel of another. But from this work of William Morgan, which I cited to you before, I find that there is good reaſon to conclude, that were peace to be immediately made, the ordinary expenditure even upon the peace eſtabliſhment, would be at leaſt 20 millions per year. I refer you to the 14th page of his "Appendix," to the "Review of the Writings of Dr. Price;" as you will find in that very valuable pamphlet, materials for very important reflection.

If ſuch would be the national burden if we were to have an immediate peace, what are we to expect if our moſt raſh and frantic miniſter, ſhould haughtily and obſtinately perſevere in this ridiculous cruſade. And are there not reaſons to ſuppoſe he has taken ſuch a determination? Is it not rumoured abroad that 30 millions are to be borrowed, to enable him to carry on another campaign? 30,000,000l. more of Britiſh gold are to be expended in hireing maſſacre and deſolation in that country which, endeavouring to emancipate itſelf from a horrible tyranny, has ſometimes fallen into temporary and diſgraceful exceſſes, but which has been uniformly purſuing the moſt noble object—the annihilation of deſpotiſm.—Exceſſes which would diſgrace the name of liberty, if common ſenſe did not ſhew us they were perpetrated, not in proſecution, but in defence of thoſe principles of liberty which men have been called upon to revere! exceſſes, which, though they have thrown a cloud over, cannot extinguiſh thoſe glorious principles which the champions of the French revolution have propagated! Principles

* This has dropped down to 18 *for the preſent.*

which have ſo diffuſed the light of political enquiry that I feel no difficulty in pronouncing, whatever treaſon there may be in the declaration, that the univerſe, ſo long as the univerſe exiſts, will be benefited by their emanating radiance. Yet with this nation we are to refuſe to treat, and Citizen *Monneron*, who has arrived at *Dover*, has been refuſed, we are told, to be conducted to *London*.

From the very height of power and conqueſt, in the full tide of victory, the injured, the generous Republic of France ſtoops to her enemies—reſpecting the independence of other nations, and pitying the ſufferings of her own brave people, ſhe offers you the hand of friendſhip. But a miniſter, whoſe only pretenſions to wiſdom are derived from low cunning and chicanery, and whoſe only grandeur conſiſts in imperious ſtiffneſs and hauteur—this miniſter, goading and driving a trampled and haraſſed people, whom he ought to protect, ſpurns the proffered boon of returning tranquillity. No, ſays he, "the piping days of peace" ſhall not return—the "Dogs of War" ſhall yet be glutted with increaſing carnage; and ſavage deſolation ſhall ſtalk ſtill longer over afflicted Europe.

Having ſaid thus much of our national burdens, let us now proceed to the queſtion of miniſterial corruption.—And here the important queſtion for my preſent purpoſe is—Is it—or is it not true, that the corruption has kept pace with the burdens that have been laid upon the people? Citizens I remember, in ſome book which impreſſed itſelf upon my mind as an authority, at the time, though I have not been able to recal it to my memory, to have met with an inſtance of a Sheriff having been fined for accepting ſome trifling ſum, 5l. I believe, as a boon for returning a candidate to parliament. How far 5l. or 25l. will go now we know very well towards the price of a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons. From four to ſix thouſand pounds is now, I believe, a general price for that proportion of a wooden form which can be covered with the broad end of a member of parliament.

How charming a thing it muſt be to have a grove for one's eſtate, from which planks of this kind might be ſawed! A piece of wood covered with a bit of green leather worth 5 or 6,000l.! one would ſuppoſe a man might have a good eaſy elbow-chair for ſomething leſs!

But

But the truth is, that ſome ſeats are like Fortunatus's wiſhing cap,—and upon the mere repetition of a few cabaliſtic terms, bring golden ſhowers into the laps of their proprietors, without the toils of induſtry, or the difficult attainments of deſert.

In ſhort, theſe immenſe premiums muſt be ſomehow or other repaid. Poor John Bull muſt labour and toil, muſt plough and weave for them; his burdens muſt be increaſed to ſupport this increaſing corruption.

But this is not all, the growth of corruption does not only appear in its enormity: corruption is a lady who has not only grown from a child to a giant, but ſhe has alſo grown from a modeſt maid, bluſhing behind the door, to an open proſtitute, proud of the public ſale of her favours.

In a newſpaper, which I now hold in my hand, we have an advertiſement, which I underſtand has alſo made its appearance in the *Times* and *Herald*, of a very curious nature indeed.

No great while ago, ſome little delicacy was obſerved about theſe things; and an auctioneer, we are told, in the midſt of the flowers of his rhetoric, ſelling a certain little ſnug eſtate, in order to enhance the price, reminded the bidders, that in addition to other advantages, the property under his hammer had the recommendation of a very delicate contingency; which when it came to be privately enquired into was found to be no other than two ſeats in the Houſe of Commons. But theſe contingencies are delicate no more: we have now open advertiſements in the public papers, which offer theſe contingencies to ſale without reſerve.

"*Telegraphe, Friday Sept.* 25.

"DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT.

"WHOEVER wiſhes for a ſeat in the Houſe, by honourable and conſtitutional means," now, Citizens, are thoſe *conſtitutional means*, the means of the *conſtitution eſtabliſhed at the glorious revolution*, or are they the means of that conſtitution to which Meſſrs. *Burke*, *Windham* and *Pitt*, pay ſuch fine compliments—knowing that they could not have any other conſtitution under which *they* could expect ſo many good things.—"Whoever wiſhes for a ſeat in the Houſe, &c. "may have the choice of many, where their ſucceſs can be "made certain.—Addreſs a line to Mr. *B.* No. 11, *Down-*

"*ſtreet*",

"*ſtreet,*" (not *Downing-ſtreet, Weſtminſter* but *Down-ſtreet, Piccadilly.*) None but principals need apply."

Pretty plain this. But even that is modeſt to what I am going to read. In the Courier, Sept. 3, we meet again with the ſame Mr. *B.* B ſtands for a great many things you know: and men who ſell ſtolen goods are ſometimes called by a name that begins with *B.* ["Members of Parliament.] "The "preſent ſyſtem of electioneering is attended with great evils, "among which the following are not the leaſt—much trou- "ble, heavy expence, and great uncertainty of ſucceſs."

Theſe he ſays are not among the leaſt. Now I think they are the leaſt. I think the largeſt are theſe, the barefaced inſult which is offered to the dignity and character of Engliſhmen, and the degeneracy of morals and manners which the ſyſtem of open proſtitution and corruption produces in the hearts and characters of the people. "The advertiſer knows "how to obtain ſeats in the houſe without difficulty. His "plan is infallible, and perfectly conſtitutional. None but "principals can be treated with."—Right! when men are to tranſact buſineſs in which there is no principle at all, none but the principal ought to be truſted; and they had beſt meet in as dark and ſecret a way as they can. In ſuch caſes better that the two parties proſtitute themſelves in perſon, than that they ſhould have agents and go-betweens to be proſtituted alſo. "Addreſs a line to Mr. *B. No.* 11, *Down-ſtreet, Piccadilly.*"

Such, Citizens, are the advances of corruption with reſpect to the open manner in which it is now practiced. Yet theſe *honourable gentlemen*, who may thus procure to themſelves ſeats by purchaſe, after this public advertiſement, will perhaps talk of the duty of the people of ſubmitting with veneration and ſilent awe to the mandates of the repreſentatives of the nation, in the Commons Houſe of Parliament aſſembled; and, at ſome future time, may prefer indictments for High Treaſon againſt thoſe who ſhall dare to oppoſe meaſures in their contemplation.

This is ſufficient proof of the growth of corruption; but there are circumſtances that prove the intimate manner in which corruption and taxation are united, which demand our particular attention. I ſhall mention, however, but one fact at preſent, with which I ſhall conclude this lecture. This fact will ſhew the manner in which theſe two things are very curiouſly united together: how the burdens, laid upon the

ſhoulders

ſhoulders of the people, increaſe the eaſe and facility of conducting thoſe bargains to which the borough-mongering ſyſtem gives riſe.

You know, Citizens, that there is a corporation called *Chicheſter*; and that in the neighbourhood of this corporation a moſt noble Duke reſides, at a place called *Goodwood*, where a very ſplendid palace is built for the uſe of his dogs.

In that part of the country, as well as many others, commotions took place, during laſt ſummer, in conſequence of the diſtreſſes of the laborious orders of the community. Aſſociations of conſequence were formed: and a propoſal was made for voluntary ſubſcriptions, to enable the maſs of the people round about to procure bread at a cheaper rate. But, no, ſays the Duke, your humanity may be a very good thing, but at this rate the rich will be expected to bear the whole burden of this contribution. Cannot we deviſe ſome means by which we can ſhift it from our ſhoulders? Certainly; and by that means find a way of leſſening the voters in the town; and thus be enabled to diſpoſe of our ſnug borough with more convenience to ourſelves.

What was the conſequence? The printed document is up ſtairs in my ſtudy. I could not find it, or I would have brought it to you. A meeting was held at *Goodwood*; and a reſolution adopted, by which a regular rate was to be levied upon the people. Now we know when a regular rate is levied the conſequence is, that the heavieſt weight falls upon the middle orders; and the *Corinthian pillar* of poliſhed ſociety juſt touches the corner of the burden. This is not all. The perſons receiving the benefit of it were to have their names regiſtered, as having taken relief from the pariſh; and the conſequence was, that they were diſqualified for voting at the next election. Thus were the diſtreſſes of the people, by this wiſe plan of ſhifting the burthen off the ſhoulders of the rich, productive of an excellent expedient for diminiſhing the number of voters, and *purifying* the repreſentation of the people from the *atrocious ſans-culottiſm* that might reſult from the *ſwiniſh multitude* having any choice in their repreſentatives.

But there are other connections, cloſe and intimate indeed, between national burdens and borough-mongering corruptions. Connections that will go hand in hand to the deſtruction of the country, and even to the deſtruction of the men themſelves who are carrying on this ſyſtem, unleſs timely

and

and temperate reform ſnatches us from the dreadful precipice upon which we ſtand.

But upon theſe it is too late to enter to-night. Let me, therefore now diſmiſs you, for the preſent, with a ſerious invocation to take nothing for granted that I have ſaid; but to examine yourſelves into the truth of my facts; and to draw your own concluſions. If they ſhould be, that I have mis-ſtated theſe things, then let me no more have your countenance and applauſe. But if my premiſes and concluſions are true and juſt, conſult your own boſoms, and meditate in your cloſets upon the means by which we may reſtore the purity of our repreſentation. To me it appears the beſt way to proceed, is according to that plan and ſyſtem which the Duke of Richmond, in better days, laid down for emancipating us from theſe increaſing burdens which muſt elſe "cover "us like riſing floods, and preſs us like a weight of water "down," even to the very abyſs of national perdition!

[END OF VOL. II.]

A Supplementary Number, containing Title, Preface, Contents, &c. will be publiſhed in the courſe of next week.